Ontario
Ministry of
Labour

Ontario
Human Rights
Commission

Race
Relations
Division

THE EXPERIENCE OF VISIBLE MINORITIES IN THE WORK WORLD

The Case of MBA Graduates

THE EXPERIENCE OF VISIBLE MINORITIES
IN THE WORK WORLD:
THE CASE OF MBA GRADUATES

Report Submitted to
The Race Relations Division
of the
Ontario Human Rights Commission

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FOREWORD

As Race Relations Commissioner, I am pleased to release to the public a study of the career experiences of visible minority MBA graduates who graduated from Ontario universities since 1975. The study, done for the Race Relations Division of the Ontario Human Rights Commission by Professor Elia Zureik of Queen's University is part of the attempt by the Division to familiarize itself, on the basis of research, with race relations issues and problems in the various key sectors of our society.

Race Relations is dynamic and sensitive. Therefore, the Division needs to be constantly aware of happenings and developments within society which has race relations implications. Issues and problems related to employment become of crucial importance, especially at a time of economic stress, hence the significance of this study.

Professor Zureik and his research assistants attempted to reach every visible minority graduate whose name was provided by the universities either from alumni records or resume books. These included blacks, Chinese, Indo-Pakistanis, Japanese and others. However, due to the rather small number of MBA graduates from the visible minority community, and the high geographical mobility of MBA graduates in general, the study managed to come up with 67 respondents in the visible minority sample. Seventy white MBA graduates served as the control group.

It must therefore be emphasized firstly, that the study expresses the views of a significant number of the available visible minority MBA graduates in Ontario during the last five to seven years, and secondly, that no attempt should be made to generalize their views beyond the sample used for the study.

Finally, I must thank Professor Zuriek and his assistants and all others who helped to make this study successful. We are interested in getting feed back from readers, therefore, do not hesitate to get in touch with us at 965-3423 or 965-1613.

Dr. Bhausaheb Ubale
Commissioner for Race Relations
Province of Ontario

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Foreword

Acknowledgements

Highlights

CHAPTER ONE: Statement of the Problem, Research Design, and Sample Description

Statement of the Problem 1
Methodological and Sample Selection Considerations 2
The Interview Schedule 5
Sample Composition 6
Summary 10

CHAPTER TWO: Review of the Literature

Introduction 12
Review Summary 12

CHAPTER THREE: Qualitative Profiles of MBA Graduates: Visible Minorities vs Whites

Introduction 21
Visible Minorities 21
  Indo-Pakistani and Other West Asians 21
  East Asians 28
    Chinese 28
    Japanese 36
  Blacks 41
Whites 44
Summary 50

CHAPTER FOUR: Statistical Findings

Job Recruitment of the MBA Graduate 54
Job Characteristics 60
Income Differences 64
Desired and Actual Mobility Patterns 67
Discrimination 81
Summary 86

CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusions 89

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Relevant Statistical Tables for Control Group and Visible Minorities

Table 1: Average Age Distribution of Sample 93
Table 2: Program of Study 93
Table 3: Distribution of Control Group and Visible Minorities by First-Degree Specialization 93
Table 4: Job Title by Age 94
Table 5: Job Title by Accent 94
Table 6: Number of Job Promotions Since Receipt of MBA Degree by Age 94
Table 7: Extent of Skill Utilization on Job 95
Table 8: Perception of Life in Canada Before Immigration 95
Table 9: Perception of Money and Material Things as Important 95
Table 10: Authority Level in Workplace By Ethnicity 96
Table 11: Authority Level in Workplace By Sex 97
Table 12: Evaluation of Factors Affecting Achievement of Desired Position 98

Appendix II: Within Group Comparisons for Visible Minorities, and Whites

Table 1: Class Standing in MBA Program Upon Graduation 100
Table 2: Reasons for Pursuing MBA Degree 100
Table 3: Average Number of Applications Submitted, Interviews Received, and Jobs Offered after MBA Graduation 101
Table 4: Use of Various Job-Search Methods 102
Table 5: Sources Attributed to Locating Current Job 103
Table 6: Relative Importance of Factors in Securing a Job 104
Table 7: Extent of Skill Utilization on the Job 105
Table 8: Current Job Title 105
Table 9: Current Management Level - Control Group and Visible Minorities 106
Table 10: Current Management Level - Control Group and Visible Minorities by Accent 106
Table 11: Current Management Level - Control Group and Visible Minorities by Employment Duration 107
Table 12: Current Management Level - Control Group and Visible Minorities by Sex 108
Table 13: Current Job Title 109
Table 14: Income Distribution 110
Table 15: Number of Job Changes, Job Promotions, and Company Changes Since Receipt of MBA 111
Table 16: Number of Years Employed 111
Table 17: Rate of Progress in Company 112
Table 18: Considering Leaving Company 112

Table 19: Present Promotion Prospects 113
Table 20: Future Promotion Prospects 113
Table 21: Positions Aspired to within the Company 114
Table 22: Degree of Happiness with Work 114
Table 23: Degree of Job Security 115
Table 24: Degree of Freedom of Expression 115
Table 25: Degree of Autonomy 116
Table 26: Comparison of Overall Job Position to that of Individuals with Similar Qualifications 116
Table 27: Comparison of Income to that of Others with Similar Qualifications 117
Table 28: Comparison of Seniority to that of Others with Similar Qualifications 117
Table 29: Orientation to the Work Environment 118
Table 30: Perception of Factors Connected with Career Prospects 119
Table 31: Discrimination in Employment a Problem 122
Table 32: Assessment of Discrimination Trends 122
Table 33: Extent of Awareness that Discrimination is a Problem 123
Table 34: Sources of Knowledge Concerning Employment Discrimination 123
Table 35: Visible Minorities' Assessment of Discrimination Against Own Group 124
Table 36: Introduction of Job Affirmative Action Programs in Canada 124

Appendix III: Race, Ethnicity, and Employment: An Annotated Bibliography

Annotations 125
Bibliography 156
Notes 158

Appendix IV: The Interview Questionnaire

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter One

Table 1: Geographic Distribution of the Sample 7
Table 2: Ethnic and Religious Distribution of the Sample 7
Table 3: Year of Immigration and Graduation from the MBA Program 8
Table 4: University Attendance and Field of Specialization in MBA Program 9
Table 5: Distribution of the Sample by University Attendance and Ethnicity 9

Chapter Four

Table 1: Class Standing in MBA Program Upon Graduation 54
Table 2: Reasons for Pursuing MBA Degree 55
Table 3: Average Number of Applications Submitted, Interviews Received, and Jobs Offered after MBA Graduation 56
Table 4: Use of Various Job-Search Methods 57
Table 5: Sources Attributed to Locating Current Job 58
Table 6: Relative Importance of Factors in Securing a Job 59
Table 7: Extent of Skill Utilization on the Job 60
Table 8: Current Job Title 61
Table 9: Current Management Level - Control Group and Visible Minorities 61
Table 10: Current Management Level - Control Group and Visible Minorities by Accent 62
Table 11: Current Management Level - Control Group and Visible Minorities by Employment Duration 63
Table 12: Current Management Level - Control Group and Visible Minorities by Sex 64
Table 13: Current Job Title 65
Table 14: Income Distribution 66
Table 15: Number of Job Changes, Job Promotions, and Company Changes Since Receipt of MBA 68
Table 16: Number of Years Employed 68
Table 17: Rate of Progress in Company 69
Table 18: Considering Leaving Company 70
Table 19: Present Promotion Prospects 70
Table 20: Future Promotion Prospects 71
Table 21: Positions Aspired to within the Company 71
Table 22: Degree of Happiness with Work 72
Table 23: Degree of Job Security 73
Table 24: Degree of Freedom of Expression 73
Table 25: Degree of Autonomy 73
Table 26: Comparison of Overall Job Position to that of Individuals with Similar Qualifications 74
Table 27: Comparison of Income to that of Others with Similar Qualifications 74
Table 28: Comparison of Seniority to that of Others with Similar Qualifications 74
Table 29: Orientation to the Work Environment 77
Table 30: Perception of Factors Connected with Career Prospects 78
Table 31: Discrimination in Employment a Problem 82
Table 32: Assessment of Discrimination Trends 83
Table 33: Extent of Awareness that Discrimination is a Problem 83
Table 34: Sources of Knowledge Concerning Employment Discrimination 83
Table 35: Visible Minorities' Assessment of Discrimination Against Own Group 85
Table 36: Introduction of Job Affirmative Action Programs in Canada 85

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The dedication of the interviewers ensured that the data were collected with utmost care. I am most appreciative of their efforts.

Various community organizations were instrumental in providing me with the necessary information in order to fill the few gaps encountered in the process of sample construction. In particular, I would like to register my thanks to Professor Wilson Head of York University and President of the Canadian Black Coalition, Mr. Alok Mukherji and other officers of the Indian Immigrant Aid Societies, and to the staff and editor of the newspaper Contrast.

I benefited a great deal from the discussions I have had with Dr. Bhausaheb Ubale, the Race Relations Commissioner of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, Dr. Samuel Ifejika of the same division, and Mr. Sabir Shakeel of the Research Division of the Ontario Ministry of Labour.

My assistant Mr. Robert Hiscott handled the data processing and analysis with commendable efficiency.

Mrs. Sharron Pett, my secretary throughout this project, discharged her duties with the utmost dedication, and it is no exaggeration to say that without her persistent and diligent work, I doubt whether it would have been possible to identify and locate our quota of respondents.

Finally, I must thank my wife, Mary, for agreeing to type for the "last time" yet another report by me.

Elia Zureik
Kingston, Ontario
August, 1982

HIGHLIGHTS

Survey Objectives and Sample

- The purpose of this study is to trace the career paths of recent MBA graduates from the visible minority community and to explore the effects, if any, their racial and ethnic backgrounds have on their professional careers.
- The respondents were an experimental group of 67 persons from the visible minorities and a control group of 70 whites, all of whom were recent MBA graduates from Ontario universities.
- The visible minority respondents were of Chinese, Indo-Pakistani, Japanese, Black, and Middle-Eastern descent, and most had immigrated to Canada; the control group were mainly of Anglo-Saxon descent. Thirty two respondents of the total sample were women.
- In-depth interviews probed the respondents' general and professional backgrounds, employment histories, salaries, promotion records, over- and under-utilization of professional skills in their jobs, degree of satisfaction with or security in their jobs, perception of the existence of discrimination, and willingness to act against discrimination.

Findings

- Business professionals are reluctant to admit the existence of racial or ethnic discrimination. The probable reasons for this are a fear of repercussions on their careers and a belief that success in business depends more on hard work and individual personality than on social or institutional factors.
- Nevertheless, a comparison of the career paths of the control and experimental groups shows that visible minority respondents have not fared as well on the whole as whites, and many respondents in both groups believe that racial and ethnic discrimination affects MBA graduates' careers in a variety of ways.

Job Search and Recruitment

- Visible minority respondents submitted more job applications and took more interviews than white respondents but received fewer job offers.
- Both groups named university placement offices most often as the job-search method that actually got them their job, but the whites were hired through direct application and internal recruitment more often than the visible minorities.

Management Positions

- Slightly more than half the visible minority respondents and slightly less than half the whites consider their professional qualifications under-utilized.
- More than half the white respondents but only a third of the visible minority respondents have management positions at any level; four times as large a proportion of whites as of visible minorities are in senior management.
- Ten respondents with no perceptible accent, but only one with a non-English accent, were in senior management.
- No visible minority respondents who had been employed for less than five years were in senior management, although several white respondents were.
- Only two women, both white, occupied senior-management positions.

Income

- Income differentials appear to be more closely related to sex than to ethnicity.
- The average income differential between white men and women is $10,326; between visible minority men and women it is $7,842. But the average differential between white men and visible minority men is only $3,122, and between white women and visible minority women it is only $638.
- White men have the highest average income in the sample ($38,714); visible minority women have the lowest ($27,750).
- The large income differentials between whites and visible minorities who have been employed for between eight and 20 years ($13,907) suggests that visible minorities may not be receiving salary increases commensurate with their experience.

Job Mobility and Career Satisfaction

- Visible minority respondents change jobs and companies more often than whites and receive more promotions. However, fewer visible minority than white respondents have progressed as rapidly in their careers as they had expected.
- More visible minority than white respondents are considering leaving their jobs.
- Fewer visible minority than white respondents consider their chances for promotion to be very good.
- Visible minority respondents are generally less satisfied with their

work, including such factors as their boss, co-workers, etc., than white respondents.

- Visible minority respondents are more likely than whites to consider themselves worse off in their jobs than others with similar qualifications.

Perception of Racial and Ethnic Discrimination

- Speaking with a non-English accent and maintaining one's ethnic way of life rather than race or ethnicity per se are generally thought by both groups to be detrimental to career advancement.
- Two-thirds of the entire sample believe that visible minorities must perform better than whites to get ahead.
- A third of the visible minority respondents and a fifth of the whites think visible minority managers are usually placed in dead-end jobs.
- A slight majority of both groups believe that discrimination in employment is a problem in Canada, and a larger majority of visible minority respondents believe there is discrimination against their own group. However, only a fifth of the visible minority respondents and less than a tenth of the whites reported discrimination against themselves. Most cases of discrimination reported by whites were instances of sex discrimination against women.

Few respondents contemplated or undertook action against discrimination . Except among Blacks, visible minority respondents who are confronted with discrimination generally prefer to say nothing and work harder to get ahead.

CHAPTER ONE

Statement of the Problem, Research Design, Sample Description

Statement of the Problem

Although discussions about various social issues, particularly sex discrimination, have received substantial coverage in the news media, race occupies and in all likelihood will continue to occupy a central place in the current debate about pressing social concerns.

The available research on race relations in Canada is not insignificant by any means. However, the bulk of it focuses on rather popular and easily accessible areas of research such as general public opinion surveys, educational practices and the school curriculum, and some media research. Systematic studies on labour-market discrimination are of recent vintage, and they tend to be few in number. To the extent that they exist, the tendency is to deal with aggregate census data using race and ethnicity as standard variables to show that there are income, educational, and occupational differences between various sectors of society.

As the review of the literature in Chapter Two indicates, systematic studies dealing with the actual mechanisms and specific facets of discrimination within the workplace are not very common. More importantly, existing research does not address the issue of discrimination among professional groups. This is partly because of problems of accessibility, but it is also because of the assumption that the higher the individual ascends along the occupational and educational ladder the less likely racial and ethnic discrimination are to be a central issue of concern. While there is no doubt that professional people, regardless of their racial background, have at their disposal a larger reservoir of resources with which to cope with and combat discrimination, this does not necessarily ensure its elimination. It is worth noting that in two recently published articles on MBA graduates in Ontario (the group we will be investigating in this study) not a single mention was made of employment problems associated with race and ethnicity.[1] In one case the discussion focused on female MBA graduates and the difficulties they encounter in their entry into the corporate world, while the second study dealt with future employment prospects of MBA graduates as a consequence of a projected oversupply of such graduates in the labour market.

The purpose of this exploratory research is to help remedy the existing deficiency in the study of professionals and the impact of race and ethnicity. It was decided because of financial and time constraints to deal exclusively with MBA graduates from Ontario universities as one type of the various professional groups affected in one way or another by discrimination because of race and ethnicity. In selecting such a professional group the objective of the study is to contrast the experience of whites with that of a corresponding visible minority group with respect to job and career expectations, various forms of mobility patterns, working conditions as reflected in the extent of job satisfaction/dissatisfaction, job authority, personal experience and awareness of racial and ethnic discrimination, and the extent to which individuals are willing to recommend courses of action to combat racism.

Methodological and Sample Selection Considerations

The population from which the sample is chosen comprises mainly MBA graduates of Ontario universities. It was decided that the population should be confined to MBA graduates from the last seven years or so, since 1975. Since this is a highly mobile group, the inclusion of earlier cohorts would likely create major problems in tracing and contacting potential respondents. Nevertheless, once the process of data collection started it was discovered that approximately ten percent of the sample had graduated before 1975.

Of the seven Ontario universities with MBA programs that were contacted in order to secure agreement to participate in the study only one, the University of Ottawa, refused outright. The University of Windsor's response came too late to be incorporated in the sample design; in any case, the recency and size of the program could not have provided us adequate numbers of respondents.

The strategy of the study calls for constructing an "experimental" and a "control" group of MBA graduates; the first consists of visible minorities, the second of whites. In order to minimize the influence of exogenous variables the two groups were matched with respect to university attendance, field of specialization, year of graduation, and, where possible, sex of the respondent. In spite of this attempt to secure a balanced sample distribution there were unavoidable population constraints. For example, it is known that until very recently there were few women in the general population of MBA graduates. Moreover, it was discovered that there were no female respondents in the sub-sample of Indo-Pakistani graduates.

The rate of refusal to participate in the study did not exceed ten percent. While the universities contacted cooperated with our request by providing the names of potential participants either from alumni records or resumé books, we nevertheless faced three basic problems: (1) the rather small number of MBA graduates who are members of visible minorities; (2) the substantial number of visible minorities in MBA programs who are visa students, who usually return to their countries of origin after the completion of their program (this is specially true in the case of Black graduates from Africa); and (3) the rather high rate of geographic mobility of the entire group, a no less important factor that made the task of sample construction and eventual location difficult both for whites and for visible minorities. In certain cases addresses and telephone numbers provided to us by the universities proved to be outdated, and diligent detective work was needed in order to secure up-to-date information about respondents. Even here the task proved impossible in certain cases.

The data-collection method relied mainly on personal interviews. Since evidence from the literature points to a relationship between the background characteristics of the interviewer/interviewee and the quality of the data collected, we succeeded in circumventing this problem to a certain extent in the case of the visible minorities through the use of matching interviewers, e.g. Indians, Pakistanis, Blacks and Chinese. White interviewers were used in most cases to gather information from white respondents.

The method of securing respondents consisted of (1)selecting appropriate names from alumni records and resume books (it is important to note here that we have contacted every visible minority graduate whose name was provided to us by the universities); (2)making a follow-up telephone call to explain in general terms the purpose of the study; (3) sending a letter from the principal investigator to each respondent if there was an initial agreement to participate, and finally (4) establishing contact between the interviewer and the respondent in order to set an appropriate time to conduct the interview. Interviews were carried out either in the office or the home at the interviewee's choice.

At the end of each interview, which lasted between 45 minutes and one hour, respondents were asked to provide names of other potential participants if possible. This snowball sampling technique proved useful in providing substitute names for respondents who either could not be located or refused to participate in the study.

The Interview Schedule

Using open- and closed-ended items, a questionnaire was designed to tap the attitudes and experiences of MBA graduates in the labour force in Ontario. The choice of items and the design of the questionnaire were dictated by the concerns of the sponsors of the project, the Race Relations Division of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Overall, the questionnaire was constructed in light of a review of the literature on the subject of race relations in general and discrimination in the labour force in particular, with a special focus on professional groups.

The questionnaire is structured in order to solicit information within the following main dimensions:

1) Background information having to do with age, sex, country of birth, length of stay in Canada, marital status, ethnic/racial affiliation, religion and proficiency in languages other than English.

2) Educational and professional characteristics, including the area of specialization; the nature of the program for the MBA degree, i.e. full-time/ /part-time or co-op; the value of foreign degrees as perceived by respondent and employer; the utilization of management-training programs; overall standing in grade-point average; the receipt of awards (and the value of the awards); and membership in professional organizations.

3) Employment history and income as measured in annual earnings for each job held (limiting the selection to a maximum of the last six jobs), the title of the position held in each job, the management level associated with each job (senior, middle, or junior), fringe benefits, the date of termination for each job, and the reasons given for termination. In addition, the question-

naire sought to assess the various methods by which the job search and eventual placement of the respondent were conducted.

4) Patterns of job promotion, authority levels occupied within the organizational hierarchy, the extent to which one's skills are overutilized/underutilized on the job, and the willingness to relocate as a function of organizational demands and/or one's own initiatives.

5) Personal job satisfaction and job security, sense of job autonomy; perception of one's own level of satisfaction relative to that of others with similar qualifications within the same organization; and assessment of job ratings and evaluation methods, taking into account universalistic criteria (competence, skill, etc.) as well as particularistic ones (age, sex, race, etc.).

6) The respondent's perception of the existence of discrimination in the labour force and in society in general, personal experience of incidents of discrimination and readiness to act against perceived discrimination on a collective and on an individual basis.

Sample Composition

Tables 1-5 present distributions of the sample by geographic location, ethnicity, and religion, year of immigration to Canada and year of graduation, field of study, and university attended. It can be seen from the tables that of the 137 respondents in the sample 70 were whites and 67 were visible minorities.

The majority of the respondents (123 or 89.8 percent) came from the Metropolitan Toronto area; the remaining 14 respondents were distributed as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE

locale	Distribution	Percent
Metro Toronto	123	89.8
Hamilton	1	0.7
London	1	0.7
Mississauga	8	5.8
Oakville	1	0.7
Ottawa	2	1.5
Peterborough	1	0.7
N	137	100.0

The ethnic and religious distribution of the sample is shown in Table 2. The experimental group of 67 respondents consists of 40 (59.7 percent) Chinese, 5 (7.5 percent) Japanese, 5 (7.5 percent) Blacks, 14 (20.9 percent) Indo-Pakistanis, and 3 (4.4 percent) Middle Easterners. There are 70 whites in the control group, of whom 48 (68.6 percent) are Anglo-Saxon respondents and 22 (31.4 percent) are wites of non-Anglo-Saxon background.

TABLE 2
ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE

Ethnicity	Number	Percent	Religion	Number	Percent
Visible Minorities					
Blacks	5	7.5	Christians	86	62.8
Chinese*	40	59.7	Hindus	7	5.1
Indo-Pakistanis	14	20.9	Jewish	6	4.4
Japanese	5	7.5	Muslims	7	5.1
Other	3	4.4	Other	2	1.5
			Agnostics	11	8.0
Sub-totals	67	100.0	No Response	18	13.1
Whites					
Anglo-Saxons	48	68.6			
Others	22	31.4			
Sub-totals	70	100.0			
Total	137			137	100.0

* The apparent over-representation of Chinese respondents in the visible minority sample is due to the actual distribution of M.B.A. graduates as appeared in the general population of potential respondents.

It is difficult to establish whether the data provided by the universities reflect the true ethnic composition of the entire MBA student population. The representativeness of the sample is not the major concern of this study since the population of visible minority graduates with whom we are concerned is small to begin with, and there is no doubt, as was mentioned earlier, that this study has managed to capture a significant number of all the available visible minority MBA graduates in Ontario during the last five or seven years.

The age structure of the sample shows it to be almost evenly divided between those who are 31 years of age or less and those who are 32 years of age or older (53 percent and 47 percent respectively). Males constitute the majority of the sample (76 percent). Of the 32 females in the study 12 (37.5 percent) are members of visible minorities and 20 (62.5 percent) are whites.

Of the 65 respondents who immigrated to Canada the majority (39 or 60 percent) came during the 1970s while about one-third (32.3 percent) immigrated in the 1960s.

TABLE 3
YEAR OF IMMIGRATION AND GRADUATION FROM THE MBA PROGRAM

Year of Immigration	Distribution	Percent	Year of Graduation	Distribution	Percent
1949-59	5	3.6	1971-74	12	8.8
1960-69	21	15.3	1975-78	45	32.8
1970-79	39	28.5	1979-82	80	58.4
Born in Canada	72	52.6			
N	137	100.0		137	100.0

Similarly, more than half (58.4 percent) of the entire sample earned the MBA degree in the last three to four years; 33 percent graduated between 1975 and 1978.

Graduates of full-time programs constituted 58 percent of the sample, followed by part-time graduates (26 percent) and an equal proportion of cooperative and a mixture of full/part-time graduates (7 percent each).

TABLE 4
UNIVERSITY ATTENDED AND FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION IN MBA DEGREE

University	Distribution	Percent	Field of Specialization	Distribution	Percent
McGill	1	0.7	Accounting	21	15.3
McMaster	21	15.3	Economics	56	40.9
Queen's	5	3.6	Finance	26	19.0
Toronto	42	30.7	Marketing-Retail	3	2.2
Western	4	2.9	Personnel Management	3	2.2
York	62	45.3	General Business	20	14.6
Foreign	2	1.5	Other Business Specialization	8	5.8
N	137	100.0		137	100.0

As expected, the institutions with the largest catchment of MBA students, York University and the University of Toronto, contributed more than three quarters (76.0 percent) of the entire sample. Because of the location of these institutions they provided the bulk of the visible minority portion of the sample. This is particularly true in the case of York University, which, as Table 5 shows, contributed more than half of the visible minority sample.

TABLE 5
UNIVERSITY ATTENDED AND ETHNICITY

University	Visible Minorities	Percent	Whites	Percent
McGill	1	1.5	-	-
McMaster	9	13.4	12	17.1
Queen's	2	3.0	3	4.3
Toronto	16	23.9	26	37.1
Western	2	3.0	2	2.9
York	35	52.0	27	38.6
Foreign	2	3.0	-	-
N	67	100.0	70	100.0

Summary

This study was undertaken to help remedy the deficiency in the research literature on the effect that racial and ethnic discrimination has on professional careers. The sample was derived by contacting recent MBA graduates whose names had been supplied by five of the seven universities in Ontario that conduct MBA programs; names were also collected in "snowball" fashion from the respondents themselves. The experimental group of 67 visible minority MBA graduates and the control group of 70 white MBA graduates were matched as closely as possible with respect to background characteristics to reduce the influence of exogenous variables. The sample is thought to contain a large proportion of the persons from the visible minorities who have received MBA degrees in recent years.

The data for the study were gathered in face-to-face interviews using an interview schedule that contained open- and closed-ended questions. The questions sought information from the respondents in six main areas: general background; educational and professional background; employment history, level of authority, and salary and other forms of remuneration; promotion pattern and extent to which professional skills are utilized on the job; degree of job satisfaction and perceived success in comparison to others with similar qualifications; and perception of the existence of discrimination and readiness to act against it.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents reside in Metropolitan Toronto. Most are graduates of York University or the University of Toronto, and over half received their MBAs during the last three years. Respondents of Chinese descent formed the majority of the visible minority respondents,

followed by those of Indo-Pakistani descent. Anglo-Saxon respondents formed the majority of the white control group. More than three-quarters of the sample were men, and the majority of the women were in the white control group. The sample was almost evenly divided between those 31 years old or younger and those 32 years old or older. More than half the respondents were native-born Canadians, and the majority of those who had immigrated to Canada came during the 1970s.

The analysis of the data will be presented in Chapters Three and Four. Chapter Three is based on qualitative profiles of the respondents in the sample representing the various ethnic groups, both sexes, and age differences.

While the visible minorities will be differentiated into five main groups in Chapter Three, they will be treated in Chapter Four as the 'experimental group'. The size of the sample is too small to render statistical comparisons on a within-group basis meaningful. For the interested reader, such comparisons are presented in Appendix II.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the Literature

Introduction

A computer search of the Canadian Press wire service for the year 1981 produced 68 entries in which racial and ethnic discrimination were reported to form a part of the life experience of visible minorities in this country. The overwhelming majority of the entries dealt with discrimination among the general population and not among any specific group, such as professionals, with whom we are concerned in this study.[1]

Two observations emerge from the press coverage. First, incidents of racial discrimination that are considered worth reporting occur, on the average, once every five days, and the practice of discrimination does not respect provincial boundaries. Second, visible minorities suffer more from discrimination than non-visible minorities; Blacks, Indians, and Pakistanis seem to occupy an unenviable place in negative stereotyping and employment and other forms of discrimination.

In order to focus on discrimination against visible minorities who are members of professional groups we decided to carry out a literature search with a view to presenting an annotated bibliography on the subject, which is given in the appendix. Here, too, we were constrained by a lack of detailed published research in the area. There is no doubt that in this sense our study is the first of its kind in Canada, even though it is exploratory in nature. The summary presented below is intended to highlight those findings of the annotated bibliography that have a direct bearing on our own research.

Review Summary

In an unpublished study prepared by the Ontario Ministry of Labour[2] that examined the work experience of recent immigrants resident in metropolitan Toronto who came to Canada between 1967 and 1977 it was found that feelings of prejudice and discrimination in the workplace were quite salient. However, there were group differences: the visible minority respondents objected to poor pay and working conditions, whereas Greek respondents were particularly concerned with racial prejudice. Forty percent of the entire sample, which comprised Caribbean, East Indian, Italian, Chinese, Portuguese, and Greek immigrants, felt that an accent and a lack of Canadian experience limited their job opportunities; nevertheless, 42 percent felt that success would come with hard work. The latter finding is echoed in the findings of our study as well.

A group of researchers[3] from the University of Toronto pursued the issue of discrimination by surveying a sample of more than 2,000 Toronto respondents aged 18 to 65. This study, conducted between 1978 and 1979, dealt with four main dimensions: ethnicity and occupational opportunity, through examining patterns of inequalities in the allocation of occupational opportunities and rewards; ethnic residential segregation, by analyzing the relationship between various indicators of segregation and ethnic identity; variations in corporate action among ethnic communities, by focusing on group and individual levels; and ethnic identity retention, by comparing ethnic identification across generations.

Here again there emerges a rank-order by groups with respect to experiencing problems. Chinese, Portuguese, and West Indian groups showed similar patterns of experiences and perceptions: frequent reports of discrimination against individuals and the group as a whole, a weak community organizational structure that lacks the requisite for effective group action, a leadership that is perceived to be poorly tied to institutional elites, and little propensity to favour the use of community organizations to deal with problems. Jews are the most likely to perceive problems in maintaining their culture and are most likely to favour the use of community resources. Portuguese and

Italians are the most likely to report immigration laws as problems, and they moderately favour the use of community organizations. Germans and Ukrainians are the least likely to perceive problems in social acceptance and discrimination; the loss of their culture is perceived as the greatest threat.

On the basis of the above survey, but considering only adults between the ages of 18 and 65 who are active members of the labour force,[4] the authors looked at three occupational rewards: job status, income and job security. The 1979 survey drawn from the Metropolitan Toronto labour force was supplemented by corresponding 1971 census data.

The findings suggest that ethnic job segregation is important in the allocation of job rewards. Italians, Portuguese and West Indians are segregated in occupations and work settings with low job status and incomes. However, Italian men earn as much overall as majority Canadians because they are concentrated in highly paid occupations, but this does not alter their overall income situation significantly. West Indians earn lower incomes than would be expected on the basis of their education and job status, and they have lower job status and incomes than would be expected on the basis of their job qualifications. Furthermore, the study suggests that gatekeeping functions for West Indian occupations are still in the hands of majority Canadians. Two groups, Jews and Chinese, are highly educated and have high-status jobs. Ukrainians and Germans are the only ethnic majority groups to earn high incomes without relying on a significant degree of job segregation.

The study concludes that protected labour markets are an important factor in understanding the allocation of job status and income among ethnic groups.

Two significant studies[5] carried out in 1980 and 1982 by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto shed further light on the relationship between ethnicity and employment.

The earlier study starts from the premise that official unemployment statistics are inadequate because they include only those conducting an active job search and exclude those in involuntary part-time employment. Using various data sources to supplement official statistics, the study concludes that unemployment rates vary across ethnic groups. The unemployment rate for Metropolitan Toronto in 1978 is estimated to have been 6.2 percent; for the City of Toronto it was 7.2 percent; yet for Indo-Pakistani males and females it was 9 percent and 15 percent, respectively; and among the Chinese it was 8 percent. The unemployment rate for males in managerial and administrative occupations was less than 2 percent.

The 1982 study is more thorough. It investigates aspects of racial and ethnic discrimination in employment in Metropolitan Toronto by examining the process of employment, recruitment, and promotion in the context of discriminatory practices and explores policy options for dealing with this problem. The study notes that recent immigration to Canada has consisted largely of visible minorities from the Third World. The study estimates that Toronto's visible minority population ranges from 12 to 20 percent of the total population and includes about 230,000 Blacks, 100,000 South Asians, 100,000-150,000 Chinese, and 25,000 West Indians.

Various kinds of evidence of discrimination against ethnic and racial minorities in employment are considered, including data drawn from statistical and census surveys, caseloads of human rights commissions, and attitudinal surveys. The data suggest that an upward pattern of mobility is not typical of the visible minorities and that the incidence of poverty and unemployment is higher among these groups. Chinese men under-earn by $500 per year and West Indian men by $2,400 in comparison to majority Canadians. The inequalities experienced by women are even greater: Chinese and West Indian women underearn by $3,500 and $3,800, respectively. Over 40 percent of all cases handled by the Ontario Human Rights Commission concerned racial or ethnic discrimination in employment, and large percentages of Chinese and West Indians report having experienced such discrimination. The data therefore suggest that the visible minorities are experiencing widespread discrimination in the job market.

Simply removing the barriers to the employment of minorities is insufficient, according to the authors of this study. Additional affirmative action at the federal and provincal levels is required, as well as a shift from permissive to prescriptive legislation. The report concludes that further economic decline and rising unemployment will intensify racism and discriminatory employment practices in Canada.

The city of Toronto conducted its own study[6] of employment opportunities for visible minorities in Metropolitan Toronto in 1982. The study is divided into two parts. The first part presents the results of an internal survey of visible-minority group employees of the city of Toronto; the second provides data on the position of minorities in the wider community.

The survey of the city's workforce found that 6.7 percent of its employees belonged to a visible minority group--Black, Asian, South Asian, Southeast Asian, Canadian Indian, Metis and Inuit. Visible minority group members were most often employed in clerical jobs (13.5 percent) and in professional-managerial and technical jobs (12.2 percent). The level of employment of minorities does not appear to reflect the size of the visible minority population as a whole, which has been estimated at 15-20 percent of the city's population.

Data on the employment of minorities in the wider community are drawn from social surveys, government reports, school board surveys and community organizations. Employment difficulties were reported most often by people born in India, followed by those from Latin America and the West Indies. The main difficulties were those of employers requiring Canadian experience and qualifications. While 25 percent of these immigrants have professional or technical training, the training does not guarantee employment in their area of expertise.

Pursuing the theme of race and employment opportunities, a group of researchers[7] from McMaster University have compared Canada to the United States and Britain with respect to legislation policies directed at curbing discrimination in employment. In the most recent of the McMaster publications the authors assess the effectiveness of various affirmative-action programs in reducing discrimination, and they analyze in particular the significance of labour-market structure for equal-employment legislation. Using government documents, census reports, and secondary reports, the study presents data for the United States, Canada, and Britain on labour force participation, unemployment rates, occupation distribution, and income levels by age and sex.

The study reviews theories of labour market discrimination, then outlines three types of labour markets. These are open markets, which are unstructured, subject to competition, and marked by a lack of skills, etc.; craft markets, which are horizontally structured by occupational licensing; and enterprise markets, which are firm-specific vertical-promotion ladders. Barriers to entry into internal labour markets, such as screening (age, sex, race), credentialism, tests, interviews, etc., are noted, as well as other barriers to promotion such as job stereotypes, employee organizations, marital status, etc.

The study also investigates the effectiveness of legislation in North America and Britain in reducing discrimination in employment and pay and in controlling unions with respect to minorities; the study also deals with national variations in prohibited grounds for discrimination, methods of enforcement, the use of the courts and the role of the unions.

The conclusion of this and other studies by the same group of researchers is that legal remedies are necessary but not sufficient tools for eliminating institutional discrimination in employment; on a macro-level, earning differentials between majority and minority workers have not unambiguously and substantially improved as a consequence of legislation. It also finds that growth in labour-force size leads to the development of internal labour markets, which may strengthen barriers to entry and promotion within firms, thus relegating minority workers to the secondary sector of the dual labour markets.

The study goes on to note that in addition to the inadequacy of the legal remedies, which tend to operate on the demand rather than the supply side of the labour market, it is doubtful whether the same laws and enforcement agencies can deal with difficult forces of discrimination. Thus, voluntary programs of positive discrimination in Canada and Britain are preferable to the affirmative-action programs in place in the U.S., where it is estimated that at least one-third of the labour force is employed by enterprises subject to affirmative-action legislation.

A York University study that examined the patterns of adaptation of immigrants living in Toronto[8] confirmed the findings of the Metro Toronto Social Planning Council and of others. The purpose of the study, which is based on a non-random sample of 324 respondents who are clients of 32 community service agencies in Metropolitan Toronto, is to assess the degree of perception of discrimination in housing, employment, neighbourhoods, and community services among West Indian, South Asian, and European immigrants.

A sizeable proportion (27 percent) of the respondents (compared to other job categories) were in professional occupations: 20.8 percent of the West Indians, 28.3 percent of the Europeans and 34.9 percent of the South Asians. More than half reported that their present employment was not the type of work they were seeking when they came to Canada. Of the West Indians, 36.6 percent indicated that a lack of Canadian experience was their main problem. Over 70 percent had received job promotions and very few felt that the failure to receive a promotion was due to discrimination.

Close to 80 percent of the respondents reported that racial discrimination exists in Canada. Nearly 90 percent of the West Indians felt that some or a great deal of discrimination exists in Canadian society. A minority thought that discrimination was decreasing, and over 45 percent of the West Indians felt that it was increasing. A majority reported personally experiencing discrimination since arriving in Canada. Employment was reported as the area where discrimination occurred most frequently: 38 percent of the West Indians, 41.5 percent of the South Asians, and 60.9 percent of the Europeans reported discrimination in this area. However, few reported discrimination to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The data from the study revealed little difference in the perceptions of discrimination by age, sex, income level, etc. Discrimination appears to be a common experience among many individuals in all groups.

The study that is most relevant to our concerns in this report is Fernandez's Racism and Sexism in Corporate Life.[9] The results of this book and its instrument of research guided the construction of the questionnaire that was finally utilized in this Canadian study.

This book presents the results of a U.S. study to determine (a) whether minorities and women need special training to become effective managers; (b) the effect of employment policies on the use of managers, and (c) the importance of the perceived atmosphere in which managers work. A total of 4,202 managers stratified by race, sex, and managerial level were randomly selected from ten large American companies that had been active in equal opportunity employment policies. The data were collected from 1976 to 1978 through self-administered questionnaires with open- and closed-ended questions.

A major finding was that some basic managerial needs and concerns are common to all employees regardless of age, race, and sex. Work satisfaction requires not only a job and a pay cheque but also a pleasant environment, challenging work, a rewarding career, and fair treatment. The responses of white and Black males were similar in this regard. Another finding was that substantial race and sex differences exist regarding equal-opportunity and affirmative-action programs and the situation and treatment of white males, minority, and female managers. Higher level managers are likely to express stereotyped views regarding minorities. Of Black males and females 52 percent and 44 percent, respectively, reported the presence of racist tendencies in their companies. The opinion that minority managers are excluded from informal work groups was held by 71 percent of Black men and 44 pecent of black women, although only 20 to 30 percent of other minorities think this way. Large numbers of Blacks think whites are uncomfortable working with Blacks. Larger percentages of Black men and women believe that minorities face serious obstacles. Over 80 percent of Black managers feel that minorities have to perform better than whites, whereas 10 percent of whites feel that this is the case. Overall, Black males are the most pessimistic and critical group (followed by Hispanics, Asians,and native Americans) whereas white males tend to be the most optimistic and least critical. Black women are the most critical of their work situation, followed by white, hispanic, native American, and Asian women. Minority and female managers at higher levels are more rather than less critical of their situation.

CHAPTER THREE

Qualitative Profiles of MBA Graduates:
Visible Minorities vs Whites

Introduction

We present in this chapter qualitative data portraying the work experience of a cross-section of the respondents in the study. This material is intended to complement the statistical data presented in Chapter Four. The cases chosen for summary below are representative in the sense that they take into account different racial and ethnic characteristics, age, sex, date of immigration and length of stay in Canada, year of graduation from the MBA program, the program of study—i.e. full-time, part-time, or co-op and the status of employment--i.e. full-time, part-time, or unemployed.

Each sub-group within the visible minority "experimental group" will be treated separately. Thus, the first section will deal with Indo-Pakistani and other visible minorities from Western Asia. The next section will deal with Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and other respondents from East Asia. The Black respondents will be treated separately in the third section. The final section will present occupational profiles of the white "control group".

Visible Minorities
Indo-Pakistani and Other West Asians

Case A - Male

The respondent is in his mid-40s. He immigrated to Canada from India in 1960 and holds a Ph.D. in physics. During his study for the Ph.D., where he studied for his MBA on a part-time basis, he secured a National Research Council award; before that he held a Commonwealth Scholarship upon immigrating to Canada. He studied for his MBA on a part-time basis between 1966 and the present time. He has held first the job of a senior physicist, then that of a staff physicist, and is now a research manager in a paper-making company. His current salary is in the range of $50,000 to $75,000. According to the respondent, his qualifications are not fully utilized in his current job. Although his rate of promotion has been rather slow and he considers the prospects of future promotions to be few, he would like to become the vice-president of the company within four years.

While Respondent A values the work ethic as an important factor in reaching his desired goal, he thinks that race or ethnic affiliation is an obstacle to advancement. However, he rates one's sex and age as totally irrelevant to advancement. His assessment of his job security and freedom to express his opinion about company matters is positive. What troubles him is the presence of other individuals in the company who possess similar educational and occupational qualifications but who earn a higher income and occupy more senior positions within the company than he does. This is in spite of the fact that in his small company of 65 employees he is the only manager who is a member of a visible minority group.

On issues of race and employment he strongly agreed with the proposition that members of a minority group are more likely to encounter discrimination if they keep their customs. Similarly, he endorsed the statements that minority managers are excluded from informal networks by Anglo-Saxon whites, minority managers have a harder time finding someone who is particularly interested in their careers, and minorities are more often placed in dead-end jobs. He disagreed with the notions that the cultural background of minority managers is a handicap to their progress and that they are penalized more often than whites for mistakes.

Respondent A agrees with most visible minority members of the sample, who endorsed the statement that most minority managers must be better performers than whites to get ahead.

He is "very certain" that there is job discrimination in Toronto. The extent of this discrimination depends on the general economic climate of the time. His knowledge about discrimination is based not only on what is mentioned in the press and what others have said to him but also on personal experience:

> My chance of advancement is limited. Had I been a white with my qualifications and experience I would be in a higher position than what I am doing.

He considers social discrimination against his own group in Canada to be on the increase. So far he has been reluctant to embark on a course of action to counter discrimination. However, he is willing to make use of the Ontario Human Rights Commission should this be necessary, although he is not optimistic that much will come out of such an action.

Case B - Male

Respondent B is 29 years of age. He immigrated to Canada from Guyana in 1970 and obtained his MBA degree on a full-time basis in 1977. Within three years he had moved from supervisor to product manager and then to his current position of national sales manager. His income is in the $30,000 to $35,000 bracket, and he rates his chances for further promotion in the company of 200 employees as fair.

In describing the assessment and evaluation procedure within the company he stresses performance, competence, and skill. He disagrees that one's race or ethnicity have anything to do one way or the other in job evaluation. He is "somewhat happy" with the sort of work he is doing, the people he is working with, and the degree of autonomy he exercises at work. His company has 25 employees who are members of visible minorities, but none, other than himself, is in a managerial position. While he does not complain about his salary level, he feels that there are others in the company who have qualifications similar to his but who are in more senior positions.

Respondent B agrees with the proposition that members of a minority group are more likely encounter discrimination if they keep their customs, but disagrees that minority managers are often excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons and that they are excluded from social activities that are beneficial to their advancement in the organization. He did concur with the statement that minority managers must be better performers than white Anglo-Saxons to get ahead.

He believes discrimination against visible minorities as far as jobs, pay, and other working conditions is a problem in Toronto. Moreover, when probed he answered that he is "fairly certain" that there is discrimination against visible minorities. Similarly, he feels that his own ethnic group suffers from some discrimination.

Case C - Male

Respondent C who is 33 years old, immigrated from Egypt in 1965. He works as a senior analyst and earns a salary of between $30,000 and $35,000. He has had four promotions since 1973, the year he entered the labour force. He graduated with an A average in 1974 after undertaking full- and part-time study programs. In addition to feeling that he is underutilized in his job, he believes that race is an obstacle to achieving one's desired goals.

While he is "somewhat happy" with his job, he is not happy with his salary, his working hours or his relationship with co-workers. He is thinking of leaving his job because of the rate of pay. However, respondent C cannot think of an instance of someone else in his company with similar qualifications who are making more money or is in higher senior position than he is.

Unlike most other respondents in the study, he feels that women are favoured over men in employment. Working in a company with 12,000 employees, he knows of one or two visible minority management personnel who are in a higher position than him. He belives that one's accent is not a disadvantage to visible minorities in the workplace, but he thinks a continued practice of culture and customs associated with one's minority status is a hinderence to job advancement.

He agrees with the propositions that minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs and that they must be better performers than white Anglo-Saxons to get ahead. He is fairly certain that discrimination against minorities in pay, hiring, and working conditions exists in Toronto, and he feels that his own group suffers from "some" discrimination.

Like others, he bases his knowledge not on concrete, first-hand information but on information supplied by friends, press reports, and others.

When asked, as a resident of Toronto do you feel that you have ever been denied opportunities for promotion to higher positions because of your ethnic, cultural, or racial background? he answered:

> Sometimes I have a feeling that I have been discriminated against because I don't try to blend with the dominant culture of this country.

He supports the introduction of a Job Affirmative Action Program in Ontario.* However, he doesn't think it helps a great deal to rely on the Ontario Human Rights Commission to resolve cases of discrimination: Working hard and saying nothing is the best solution to discrimination problems in employment.

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* Respondent's views on Affirmative Action Programs were sought in the context of other possible alternatives, e.g., Ontario Human Rights Commission, Trade Unions, Management, etc. It is worth noting that close to 50 percent of visible minorities in this sample did not have sufficient information about the program.

Case D - Male

Respondent D is 29 years old from Pakistan. He came to Canada in 1974, after having earned his first degree in engineering in England. Upon coming to Canada, he studied at York University where, in 1976, he graduated with an MBA in finance.

Since 1975, he has been employed as a manager in a small wholesale and trade company with a current salary range between $30,000 and $35,000. Due to the small size of the company, he feels that his skills are underutilized. For this reason, he would be prepared to move to other locations where there are opportunities for more challenging and stimulating jobs.

While this respondent felt that his particular case was ideal, he nevertheless agreed that minorities are likely to encounter discrimination in the workplace if they spoke with an accent and practiced their cultural traditions openly. He answered 'yes' to the question "Is discrimination against visible minorities as far as jobs, pay or other working conditions are concerned a problem in Toronto?" He was 'very certain' that such discrimination exists and thought that it remained on the same level in recent times. His source of knowledge about discrimination was not based on personal experience but on reports from friends and the media.

Case E - Male

Respondent E is 38 years old. He immigrated to Canada from India in 1975 and graduated in 1981 after completing his part-time studies program. He works as a systems specialist in a company of 2,000 employees and earns an annual salary of between $40,000 and $45,000. He has been promoted twice since joining the company in 1975.

The respondent feels 'very happy' with the kind of work he is currently doing. His satisfaction extends to his relationship with his boss and co-workers, his salary, his job security and his freedom of expression at work. He thinks that race and ethnicity are totally irrelevant to one's position on the job.

He disagrees with the proposition that minority managers come from cultural backgrounds that are not conducive to their success in a corporation. He agrees with the statements that minority managers are excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons and that minority managers are often excluded from social activities that are beneficial to their advancement, and he strongly agrees with the proposition that most minority managers must be better performers than white Anglo-Saxons to get ahead. However, he disagrees with the statement that many minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs and that they are penalized more than whites for their mistakes.

Case F - Male

The respondent is a 42-year-old Turk who immigrated to Canada in 1970. He graduated in 1978 by going through a part-time MBA program. His inability to get his law degree from Istanbul University recognized in Canada led him to pursue an MBA degree. He works as a systems analyst in a bank, where there are 1,000 employees, and his annual income is between $30,000 and $35,000.

He feels that his skills are fully utilized in his job. He is not in a supervisory position, although he does influence the rate of pay received by others. He believes his promotion prospects are fair, and up to this point his promotion record has been more rapid than expected.

He emphasizes skill, work experience, professionalism, and getting along with the boss rather than race or ethnicity as factors influencing the attainment of a desired position. Overall, he is quite happy with his job.

Upon further probing concerning the relationship between race and employment the respondent articulated a set of views that does not augur well for race relations in Canada. He agreed with each of the following propositions: (1) members of a minority group are more likely to be discriminated against if they speak with an accent than if they do not; (2) minority managers are excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons; (3) many minority managers have a harder time finding someone who is particularly interested in their careers; (4) many minority managers are placed in dead end jobs; (5) most minority managers do not have the same power as whites in similar positions; and (6) whites bypass minority managers and go to their supervisors because they feel uncomfortable dealing with minorities. He strongly agrees that most minority managers must be better performers than white Anglo-Saxons to get ahead.

He concurred with the statement that there is job discrimination in Toronto and that it is on the increase. Although he failed to substantiate in concrete terms a personal feeling of discrimination that he had when working in a previous firm, he noted that as a third year MBA student he was denied various job opportunities because of language problems.

Respondent F does not believe that institutional mechanisms such as the Ontario Human Rights Commission are effective means of dealing with discrimination. Rather, he would prefer to take the issue directly to the boss or discuss it with co-workers. If all else fails, continue to "work harder", he says.

East Asians
Chinese

Case A - Male

Respondent A is a 30-year-old Chinese from Trinidad. He first came to Canada in 1970 as a recipient of the Trinidad National Award, valued at

$20,000, and returned to Trinidad in 1975 after completing his B.A. and M.A. in economics. He returned to Canada in 1979 and enrolled as a part-time MBA student. He graduated in 1982 with an A average in finance and accounting, his field of specialization. He is now the manager of a development corporation and earns a salary of $55,000. He aspires in the future to the position of chief executive officer.

Like some of our previous respondents, Respondent A appears to be highly motivated, and he feels that his current position under-utilizes his talents and skills. However, he is in a senior management position and considers himself to have "very much autonomy" in company matters. He rates his promotion prospects as "fair" to "very good". He does consider race and ethnic affiliation obstacles to reaching his desired position. While he is satisfied with his salary, he is unsure about the overall operation of the company. Although his job offers him a great deal of security and freedom, he is considering leaving the company because it does not offer career opportunities. He rates his job situation as about the same as that of others with similar educational and occupational qualifications, but he feels that in his organization there are less qualified individuals who are earning more money. He agrees with the statement that men are favoured over women in promotional policies.

In responding to the questions on discrimination, Respondent A reflected his own situation as well as his percpetion of discrimination against minorities in general. Unlike many other respondents, he does not feel that members of a minority group are more likely to be discriminated against if they speak with an accent than if they do not, that minority managers are excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons, that minority managers are often excluded from social activities that are beneficial to advancement in corporations, or that minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs". However, he agrees that members of a minority group are more likely to encounter discrimination if they keep their customs, that minority managers have a harder time finding someone who is particularly interested in their careers, that most minority managers must be better performers than white Anglo-Saxons to get ahead, and finally that minority managers are not rewarded to the same extent as whites.

He feels that discrimination against visible minorities is increasing, depending on the visible minority in question. Discrimination is increasing for Blacks and West Indians but staying the same for Chinese. He feels that there is some discrimination against his own group in Canada.

Case B

Respondent B immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong in 1969. He graduated in 1975 and specialized in accounting. At the age of 31 he works as a computer research analyst in a company with 120 employees, and earns a salary in the $45,000-$50,000 range. He is in a middle-management position with authority to hire and dismiss others as well as to set the rate of pay of others. He aspires to the vice-presidency of the company and he rates his chances for promotion as "very good". He seems to be secure in his job and "very satisfied" with his salary, the type of work, his supervisor, and the company in general. There is very little that he dislikes about the job, and he thinks that his situation is "somewhat better" than that of others in the organization with similar qualifications.

When questioned about the importance of age, sex, and race, among other things, in achieving his goals of promotion, he stated that they were irrelevant. He also considers the same criteria irrelevant to the position of visible minority managers in general, with two exceptions. Respondent B agrees with the statements that members of a minority group are more likely to be discriminated against if they speak with an accent than if they do not, and that many minority managers are excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons. It is interesting to note that he endorses the proposition that many minority managers come from different cultural backgrounds that are not conducive to their success in the corporation. This Respondent could not say whether discrimination in employment was part of the landscape around him, although he thought the Chinese suffered from some discrimination.

Case C - Female

This respondent came to Canada from Hong Kong in 1972 and received her degree in finance and marketing in 1978. She is 28 years old and occupies a middle-management position as a supervisor of the treasury department in a company with 15 employees. Her current salary is in the $30,000 to $35,000 range. The Respondent is a recipient of three scholarships, the latest of which is the Ontario Graduate Scholarship awarded to her from 1976-78. Her high-level achievement is reflected in the overall A average in her MBA studies, and the fact that once she entered the labour force, she was selected by her company on two occasions to attend management training programs.

In her current position she has the authority to hire, fire, and supervise the work of others. She estimates that she has been promoted at a faster rate than expected and that her chances for further promotion are quite good. Within two years she expects to be the manager of the financial section.

While she thinks race is irrelevant to the attainment of her goals, her being a woman has acted as an obstacle to career advancement, as has her non-English accent. The job offers the respondent "a great deal of security", she feels "entirely free" to express her views about company matters, and she is very satisfied with her boss, co-workers, and type of work. The only thing she dislikes about her job is the repetitiveness.

Overall, she thinks that she is "somewhat better off" than others in the company with similar qualifications. However, she knows of one individual in the organization with similar qualifications who is in a more senior position and is earning more money than she is.

The respondent's views regarding more direct questions about discrimination are consistent with the above picture with some notable exceptions. She agrees with the following statements: (1) members of a minority group are more likely to be discriminated against if they speak with an accent than if they do not; (2) members of a minority group are more likely to encounter discrimination if they keep their customs; (3) many minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs; (4) most minority managers must be better performers than white Anglo-Saxons to get ahead; (5) minorities are penalized more for their mistakes than whites are.

Moreover, she agrees with the statement that as far as jobs, pay or other working conditions are concerned, visible minorities are discriminated against. She says there has been "very little" discrimination against her own group in society, and she personally has not suffered any.

Case D - Male

The respondent is a 25-year-old male of Chinese descent who is Canadian-born. A 1979 graduate, he studied finance on a co-op basis (work-study program). He works as a staff assistant to the superintendent of production and planning control in his company at an annual salary of between $30,000 and $35,000. There are 250 employees in the company, and two or three of the managers are also Chinese.

He feels that his skills are fully utilized in his current job, although he is not in a supervisory role and his authority does not extend to hiring, firing, or setting the pay scale for others. His chances of promotion are rated fairly good, and he estimates that within two years he may be the manager of his unit. Race, sex, and one's non-English accent are considered to be irrelevant from the point of view of achieving his desired goal.

He is "very happy" with his job, has "a great deal of security", feels "entirely free" in expressing his opinions about company matters", and is very satisfied with his salary and relationship with his boss.

He considers his job situation "about the same" in seniority and earnings as that of others with similar qualifications. He feels that minority members in general (though not he himself) suffer as a result of their accent, that minority managers are excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons, and that whites bypass minority managers and go to white supervisors. He strongly agrees with the premise that most minority managers must be better performers than white Anglo-Saxons to get ahead, but he disagrees with the proposition that minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs and that they are penalized for their mistakes more often than whites.

While he personally has not suffered from discrimination on the job, he is fairly certain that it exists, and he acknowledges that his own ethnic group suffers from some discrimination. He is prepared to endorse the introduction of a Job Affirmative-Action Programme in Ontario and would be prepared to use the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

In soliciting his views in a free, open-ended format regarding job discrimination he made the point made by others that discrimination exists in promotions to the upper senior-management level but not at either the junior- or middle-management levels.

Case E - Male

Respondent E was born in China and immigrated to Canada in 1975. He received his MBA in accounting in 1979. At the age of 29 he earns an annual salary of $24,000 working in a middle-management position as a senior accountant in a company with 50 employees. The respondent estimates his promotion prospects to be "very good". He seems to be fairly satisfied with his salary, his boss, his colleagues at work, and the company in general. Moreover, he estimates his overall situation in the company to be "somewhat better" than that of those with similar qualifications.

Respondent E is one of the very few visible minority respondents in our sample who deny the existence of discrimination in any form, either against him personally or against his ethnic group. Advancement through one's career, according to this respondent, comes as a result of hard work and company loyalty.

Case F - Female

Respondent F is 26 years old and immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong in 1972. She received her MBA in 1978 in finance-marketing and is currently working in the management of investments and venture capital. Her annual salary is in the range of $35,000 to $40,000.

Overall, she does not think that race and ethnicity are relevant criteria for promotion. She disagrees with the premise that minorities are penalized more often than whites for their mistakes. She also thinks that discrimination is decreasing in Canada and that women are not a particular target of discrimination in the workplace. This is in line with her statement that she had not experienced discrimination personally. However, should she experience discrimination she would endorse launching a complaint with the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

Respondent F agreed with the proposition that minority managers must be better performers than whites to get ahead and that there is some discrimination in Canada against the Chinese.

Case G - Male

The respondent is a Korean who immigrated to Canada in 1972. He graduated in management science in 1974. At the age of 37 he works in marketing, planning, and analysis and earns an annual income of $40,000 to $45,000.

Respondent G has not found that discrimination in the labour market is a blatant and pressing issue, although it does exist in a more subtle and differentiated manner. When asked to say whether race or ethnic affiliation is an advantage, irrelevant, or an obstacle in achieving one's desired position, he opted for either irrelevant or an obstacle.

To the more general question, Is discrimination against visible minorities as far as jobs, pay, or other working conditions are concerned a problem in Toronto? he answered yes. However, he feels that discrimination against visible minorities is decreasing in Toronto.

He feels that there is some discrimination against his own group. With reference to experience of personal discrimination in the workplace, he had this to say:

> In the daily workplace (i.e., evaluation and peer relations) no discrimination is experienced. However, in the case of promotion to top management, ethnic and racial background acts as a barrier. One must work harder and perform much better than non-ethnic personnel. [If] two [employees have] the same qualifications, the white will be chosen for promotion.

Respondent G felt that more overt discrimination exists in social life outside the workplace. He told of how he was mistakenly identified as one of the boat people and how he even was derogatorily labelled by his local grocery store owner.

This respondent feels resigned to accepting the premise that visible ethnic or racial minorities can never be fully integrated into Canadian society regardless of their education, citizenship, or personality types. People will go on being prejudiced against visible minorities, he believes.

Japanese

Case A - Male

The respondent is of Japanese extraction but was born in Canada. He is 22 years old and works as a stock market analyst in the research division of a small firm with an annual salary of $27,000.

He feels that, in general, race or ethnic identification is an obstacle to job advancement. He noted that while discrimination against visible minorities in the job situation exists in Canada, it is decreasing. Respondent A does not feel that he is discriminated against personally in the workplace, although he believes that discrimination exists in society at large against his own group and that there exists a general climate of discrimination.

Case B - Female

The respondent is Canadian born and of Japanese extraction. She is 38 years old and studied finance on a part-time basis until her graduation in 1981. Her previous degrees are a B.Sc. in biochemistry and an M.Sc. in information science. She is a former recipient of a National Research Council Award. From 1975 to the present she has held three jobs: systems analyst, senior operation analyst, and, currently accounting research control analyst. She works in a small company with 18 employees and earns a salary in the $35,000 range. She secured her present job though personal contacts, but feels that her skills are under-utilized. She has no authority to supervise, fire or hire others or set the rate of pay for others. Her rate of promotion has been less rapid than she expected, although she feels that her prospects are "fair" for future promotions. She is hoping eventually to be in charge of the company's management information systems. She feels that both race and sex are obstacles to career advancement. Still, she feels that one's accomplishments, hard work, and skill are important factors in giving one an edge in promotion. While she feels that she is fairly secure in her job and is free to express her views regarding company matters, she cannot say that she is happy there.

The intriguing aspect of the job for respondent B is that it is in international finance and economics. However, when asked to assess her position relative to that of others in the same organization with similar qualifications in respect to seniority, pay, and general job conditions, she answered that she is "much worse off" than others. She considers being female a factor working against her promotion.

Respondent B's views on discrimination were strong and consistent. She seemed to suffer from double jeopardy: being female and being Japanese. She agreed with each of the following statements: (1) members of a minority group are more likely to be discriminated against if they speak with an accent than if they do not; (2) members of a minority group are more likely to encounter discrimination if they keep their customs; (3) minority managers are excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons; (4) many minority managers have a harder time finding someone who is particularly interested in their careers; (5) minority managers are penalized more for their mistakes than are whites; (6) many minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs; (7) most minority managers must be better performers than white Anglo-Saxons to get ahead; and (8) most minority managers do not have the same power as whites in similar positions.

Respondent B feels that discrimination is increasing. She would be prepared to use the Ontario Human Rights Commission if she should encounter discrimination, although she has not had such an experience, nor had the need to use the commission to this point. When probed to determine the nature of discrimination in the workplace, she answered:

> As a systems analyst I had a comparable B rating and letters of commendation and should have been promoted but was not. Later a new manager suggested that I look for a new job-- could be interpreted to look for a new company. In this particular job the supervisor was Mormon and did not agree that women should be working.

Case C - Female

Respondent C is Canadian born and of Japanese extraction. While she shares a similar background with respondent B, her attitudes to work and race relations are drastically different. Respondent C is 28 years old and a graduate of a co-op program in business administration. She graduated in 1980, having majored in international business and marketing.

She is working at the junior management level in a company with 93 employees in data processing and accounting. Her present salary is between $22,000 and $24,000. The respondent defines her position as temporary in the sense that it will ultimately lead to a higher level position. She considers her promotion prospects very good and has her eyes set on becoming a manager within less than a year. She is fairly satisfied with her job environment-salary, boss, co-workers, etc. Nevertheless, she will consider leaving the company if her skills continue to be under-utilized.

Respondent C disagrees that race is a handicap in career advancement; she thinks it is irrelevant. However, in another question she agreed that members of a minority group are more likely to be discriminated against if they speak with an accent than if they do not, and that members of a minority group are more likely to encounter discrimination if they keep their customs. She could not give definitive responses to the other questions that were discussed in Case B, which dealt with the issues of race. As a matter of fact, this respondent answered "don't know" in all the remaining cases in which discrimination arose as an issue.

Case D - Male

The respondent is a 25-year-old Canadian of Japanese extraction. He graduated in 1982 in the management of information systems program. He works as a systems analyst in a company with 45 employees, and he earns a salary of approximately $30,000. In his search for a job he submitted 28 applications and secured four offers at the time. He feels that his business degree is not fully utilized. but he has high hopes to move on to a more senior level within the same company. Like other respondents, he is not in a position to supervise others, set the pay scale for others, or dismiss other employees from the company.

This respondent also does not consider race important in reaching one's desired goal. While he feels secure in his job and is fairly satisfied with his salary and immediate boss, he is not satisfied with his co-workers and complains of "a lot of politics in the company and department."

He rates his job circumstances as "somewhat better" than those of other persons who have similar qualifications, and he does not know of others with similar qualifications who are either earning more money or in more senior positions. He disagrees with all suggestions of a relationship between race and job discrimination except for one, i.e. that members of a minority group are more likely to encounter discrimination if they keep their customs.

Case E - Male

The respondent is 35 years old, Canadian born, and of Japanese ancestry. He graduated in 1971, and since graduation has worked in two companies in which he has risen from junior to middle management. At present, his title in the 400-employee company is that of manager for corporate sales and development, and his current salary is between $40,000 and $45,000 with various benefits including the use of a company car.

Between 1975 and 1979 he was chosen to attend six different management training programs. He aspires to be the vice-president for marketing within one year.

While he is ready to move at any time to a better career, he is fairly satisfied with the working conditions in the company. He believes himself to have the same earnings and seniority as others with similar qualifications.

He considers discrimination against visible minoritites in general to be increasing, but he thinks that very little of it affects his own ethnic group. However, when the questions refer to professional groups such as managers, his answer is different. He disagrees that members of ethnic minorities are being placed in dead-end jobs, are excluded from social activities beneficial to their progress, have to be better performers, etc. but, he does think that members of a minority group are more likely to be discriminated against if they speak with an accent, or if they keep their customs and that they are likely to be excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons. Finally, he would be willing to take his case to the Ontario Human Rights Commission in instances of discrimination, although his first priority would be to contact his professional association.

Blacks

Case A - Male

Respondent A is from Jamaica. He is a 1978 MBA graduate from a U.S. university and immigrated to Canada in 1979. At the age of 41 he teaches grade 13 and earns a salary of $15,000.

Respondent A complained of the mismatch between his job and his qualifications. Although he enjoys teaching, he doesn't feel secure in his job, and he complained that he is significantly underpaid in comparison to other MBA graduates with similar qualifications.

He feels that discrimination is increasing in Canada, particularly against Black people. He says he experienced personal discrimination in his teaching job when he was passed over in a recent promotion in favour of another person who does not have the same amount of experience.

Although he would encourage others to contact the Ontario Human Rights Commission in cases of discrimination, he does not feel that a great deal would come out of such an action.

He is willing to see Canada implement a program similar to the U.S. Job Affirmative Action Program.

Case B - Male

Respondent B is 33 years old. He immigrated to Canada from Ghana in 1970 and received his MBA in 1976 in finance-accounting. Currently he works as a financial analyst and earns an annual salary of between $35,000 and $45,000.

He feels that his job qualifications are under-utilized and that he is not involved in management decisions as much as he should be compared to other fellow MBAs in the same organization.

While he acknowledges that it is difficult to prove discrimination practices at the managerial level because of their subtle nature, he believes that such practices nevertheless exist. It is in this context that he sees race as an obstacle to career advancement. On the most general level he feels that discrimination is increasing in Canada as a whole. He would like to see a Job Affirmative-Action Program, or something similar to it, instituted in Canada. While he has not made use of the Ontario Human Rights Commission in the past, he would be willing to do so in the future should the situation call for it.

Case C - Male

Respondent C immigrated to Canada from Ghana in 1971. He is 31 years old and is in a senior-level management position earning a salary of between $30,000 and $35,000. He graduated in 1976 in marketing-finance, and works as marketing manager in a company with 280 employees.

He submitted 20 applications after graduation, secured five interviews, and received two job offers. When asked to compare his experience in Canada with his expectations before settling here, he was not sure one way or the other and gave "mixed feelings" as his response.

Respondent C is in a position to influence the careers of others. He has been promoted more rapidly than he anticipated. He is "very happy" with the sort of work he is doing and with company matters. The aspect of his job that he is most dissatisfied with is his salary, which does not compare favourably with that of others in similar senior positions. As a matter of fact he indicated that he knew of others in his organization with similar qualifications who were earning more money than he was.

When asked about the role of various factors in influencing his job profile, he dismissed race, sex, age, etc. as irrelevant. However, he thinks that having a non-English accent has counted against him in the company.

He agrees with the statements that: minority groups are likely to suffer from discrimination if they retain their customs, that they do not have the same powers as whites, that they must perform better than whites to get ahead, and that they are penalized more often than whites for their mistakes. He is "positive" that visible minorities in general are discriminated against in jobs, pay, and working conditions and that the extent of this discrimination is increasing. He feels that Blacks in Canada are suffering "a great deal" from discrimination.

His perception of discrimination is based on personal experience. His reaction to it was to leave the company in question when he was denied a promotion.

He is against the implementation of a Job Affirmative-Action Program if it is going to be used as "a political tool" in the sense of using the program to effect reverse discrimination. Merit and skills rather than race and ethnicity should be the major criteria in work situations, according to Respondent C.

Whites

Case A - Female

Respondent A is Canadian born and of Ukrainian descent. In her mid-20s, she received her MBA in 1980. She has been unemployed for four months. She worked on a contract basis in the Ontario government, but says that the job "did not lead anywhere". Upon the termination of her contract and with no other offers forthcoming she decided to quit her job and travel. When working she was in a junior-management position paying about $16,000.

After graduation she submitted five job applications and secured three interviews through the placement office of the university, but no job offers were received. While most of the items in the questionnaire do not apply to unemployed respondents, she had definite views on the issue of job discrimination.

Basing her responses on what she had seen personally, she agreed that if minority managers retain their customs and speak with an accent they are more likely to be discriminated against. She also agreed that minority managers are excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons, that minority managers must perform better than whites to get ahead, that they tend to be placed in dead-end jobs, and that whites prefer to deal with other white supervisors and bypass minority managers.

Still, Respondent A endorsed two statements that the majority of our visible minority respondents disagreed with: the cultural background of minority managers prevents them from succeeding in the corporation, and qualified visible minority managers are lacking.

More generally, however, she was prepared to admit that there is discrimination against visible minorities as far as jobs, pay and other working conditions are concerned and that this discrimination is increasing.

In a hypothetical situation regarding job discrimination she believed "very much" in the usefulness of taking such cases to the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

Case B - Male

The respondent is 33 years old and of English descent. He graduated in 1972 in marketing. He is the recipient of one merit scholarship and has been selected for management-training programs at least four times between 1972 and 1980. He works in restaurant management in a company with 1,500 employees and earns an annual salary of between $40,000 and $45,000. Throughout his job experience since 1974 this respondent has worked in middle-level management.

He secured his job through a private employment agency. He feels that his specific job under-utilizes his skills even though, unlike many of the visible minority respondents, he has the authority to hire, fire, supervise and set the rate of pay for others. He aspires to be director of the company within a short period.

He is happy with his job and feels "very satisfied" with his salary, the group with whom he works, and his immediate supervisor. However, he feels that there are other individuals in the company who have similar qualifications but who earn more money and are in more senior positions.

It is interesting to note that this respondent believes that race and ethnicity bestow an advantage on his career advancement. He also agrees that men are favoured over women in the corporate world.

Respondent B disagrees with most items that link discrimination to visible-minority status. He disagrees that minority managers are likely to be discriminated against if they speak with an accent, that they are excluded from activities beneficial to their corporate success, that they are placed in dead-end jobs, etc. However, he does agree that minority managers are excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons, that they must be better performers than white Anglo-Saxons to get ahead and that they have a harder time finding someone who is interested in their careers.

Overall he feels that the visible minorities suffer from job and pay discrimination and that this trend is staying the same. When asked to give examples from personal knowledge of discrimination he recalled how the company with which he was previously employed "had eligible ethnics that were passed over for promotion and placed in dead-end jobs". He was in favour of initiating the equivalent to the Job Affirmative-Action Program in Ontario, and he would be willing to use the Ontario Human Rights Commission in cases of discrimination.

Case C - Male

This respondent is of British background and is 42 years old. He studied for his MBA on a part-time basis earning his degree in 1978. The respondent works in one of the provincial ministries as a director of finance and administration, a senior management level, with a salary in the upper $40,000 bracket, and has 100 employees working for him.

He enjoys a great deal of security in his work and feels fairly free to express his views concerning job-related issues. The moderate level of autonomy as well as a satisfying salary do not prevent Respondent C from thinking of leaving his current post. He considers his job "somewhat better" than those of others with similar qualifications. He is at the top of the scale of seniority and pay for his position.

It is interesting to note that this respondent feels that women, not men, are favoured for promotion on the job. He does not believe that visible minority managers suffer from any form of discrimination. Their main problem is that there aren't enough qualified minority managers to occupy managerial positions. Likewise, he doesn't believe that society-wide discrimination against visible minorities exists.

Case D - Male

Respondent D manages venture capital firms. At the age of 25 his annual income is in the $50,000 to $75,000 range. He is of English descent and is a 1981 graduate of an MBA program. He hopes to rise in his current senior position to be a director within a year.

In line with his senior-management position he is able to hire, fire, and influence the rate of pay of others. Generally speaking, Respondent D neither considers his position secure nor think he is either fairly free or entirely free to express his opinions about company matters. Except for his boss, he is fairly satisfied with his work and salary.

Nevertheless, this respondent feels that he is better off than others in the organization with similar qualifications. In assessing company promotional policies he agrees that women are at a disadvantage with respect to men.

In appraising the position of minorities in general respondent D is one of those who agrees that if they retain their customs, minority groups are likely to encounter discrimination; that white managers have more power than most minority managers; that there is a lack of qualified minority managers; and that whites would prefer to deal with white managers than with visible minorities.

It is interesting to note that this respondent rejected the idea that visible minorities are excluded from informal white work networks, that minority managers are put in dead-end jobs, and that they have to perform better than whites to get ahead.

On the more general societal level he concurs that visible minorities suffer from discrimination, but feels that this discrimination is remaining constant. Finally, he is against instituting legislation in Canada similar to the Job Affirmative-Action Program in the U.S.

Case E - Female

Respondent E is a 25- year-old woman and a 1981 graduate of a co-op program in finance. She is a recipient of scholarships and a participant in management training programs.

At the end of her program she submitted 15 job applications through the university placement office, secured seven interviews, but had no job offers.

She has been unemployed for three months. She says that her lack of employment is due to the tight job market and to the fact that she "has picked male-dominated areas" to work in.

She is "very certain" that there is racial discrimination against visible minorities in the job market but this discrimination is decreasing.

Respondent E agrees with most of the questions on discrimination against minorities. She agrees that minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs, that they have to be better at what they do than whites to get ahead, that they don't have the same power as white managers, etc. Similarly, she rejects the propositions that the cultural background of visible minority managers is not conducive to their corporate success and that there is a lack of qualified minority managers.

Case F - Female

Respondent F is 35 years old and was born in Canada. She received her MBA in 1980 in finance-marketing and has been unemployed for the past four months.

Her salary in her last job was about $25,000 annually. She lost her job because of the slump in the stock market—"last in, first out", as she put it.

She believes that men are preferred over women in the corporate world and that the older you are, especially if you are a woman, the more likely it is that age will count against you.

While she feels that discrimination is generally decreasing in Canada, she endorses the assumption that, when it comes to jobs and pay, visible-minorities are at a disadvantage. Likewise, she agrees that minority managers must be better performers to get ahead, that a lack of qualified minorities for managerial positions exists, that most minority managers do not have the same power as whites in similar positions, and that whites bypass minority managers and go to their supervisors because they feel uncomfortable in dealing with minorities.

With respect to personal discrimination she recounted how as a woman she was treated in a paternalistic way by her male interviewers when applying for jobs. She recommends as a solution to possible racial discrimination at the managerial level that workshops and training programs be conducted for white managers to deal openly with the topic of minority discrimination.

Summary

Indo-Pakistanis and Other West Asians

The respondents are men and range in age from 29 to their mid-40s. They are most likely to earn $30,000-35,000 a year, but they can earn over $50,000. A few are in managerial positions, but most are systems specialists or analysts.

Respondents usually think their qualifications are not fully utilized, although one or two disagree, and they believe they have only fair or worse prospects for advancement despite their high aspirations. All are convinced that the visible minorities need to be better performers than whites to get ahead, and most are aware that discrimination against their group exists, but they do not agree on whether racial or ethnic background is an actual obstacle to career advancement. Most seem to have learned about discrimination second hand, even though they have strong feelings on the role it plays in their own lives. None have gone to the Ontario Human Rights Commission to report discrimination, but most say they would be willing to do so if the need arose.

Chinese

The respondents are mostly men, although two are women, and one was born in Canada. They are younger on the whole than the West Asian group, ranging in age from 25 to 37. They tend to occupy middle-management positions, and most earn between $35,000 and $55,000 a year.

Their positions and salaries are somewhat higher than those of the West Asian group, and their attitudes towards their jobs are correspondingly more positive. Most acknowledge that discrimination exists in Canada, even against Chinese, but they generally feel it is worse for other groups and is not, on the whole, a serious problem for them. They also tend to think that discrimination in general is decreasing. Most are satisfied with their jobs, have high aspirations, and believe they have a fair to good chance of fulfilling them. All believe they are doing as well as or better than others in their firms with the same qualifications.

Their views are not entirely positive, however. Most think minority managers must be better performers than whites to get ahead, and some believe that one's ethnicity can affect one's career chances adversely in certain ways. One respondent believes that the visible minorities will never be able to integrate fully into Canadian society.

Japanese

The respondents range in age from 22 to 38, and two of the five are women. Unlike other visible minority groups, all the Japanese-Canadian respondents in the composite group were born in Canada. They are most likely to be in junior-management or non-management analyst positions, and their earnings are distributed fairly evenly between $22,000-24,000 a year and $40,000-45,000 a year, somewhat less than most other groups.

These respondents tend to feel that their job qualifications are not fully utilized in their present positions, although they generally are optimistic that advancement will come quickly. Their feelings of satisfaction with their positions are quite mixed, as is their perception of how well they are doing in relation to others with similar qualifications. Most do not believe race is an obstacle, although one female respondent said that both race and sex constitute obstacles for her; even respondents who are aware of discrimination and think it is increasing tend to view it as more of a problem for other groups than for their own. On the whole they do not view minority-group status as a major obstacle to their own success in their careers. However, should the need arise, they said, they would be willing to take their cases to the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

Blacks

The three respondents in this composite group range in age from 31 to 41, and all are men. One is a teacher, another a financial analyst, and the third a senior manager. Their salaries range from $15,000 a year to $35,000-45,000 a year, the lowest by far of all the composite groups.

It is difficult to form a coherent picture of this small and diverse group. All are sure that there is discrimination and that it is increasing generally; they consider Blacks to be targets of considerable discrimination, although not all see it as an obstacle to personal advancement. In one respect or another all three respondents think they are less well off than others with similar qualifications. At the same time they seem relatively happy with the work they are doing and express dissatisfaction only with certain aspects of it. They are prepared to use the Ontario Human Rights Commission if necessary, although one of the three is sceptical of its value in fighting discrimination.

Whites

Half of these respondents are in their mid-20s and the rest range in age up to 42. Half are also women, all of whom were unemployed at the time they were interviewed. The male respondents in this group are all in either senior- or middle-management positions. The salaries that the women earned in their most recent jobs were between $16,000 and $25,000 a year; those of the men are all $40,000 or more.

The men in this group are either fairly satisfied or very satisfied with their current positions, although not all believe they are doing as well as or better than those with similar qualifications. While most of the respondents in this group have not experienced discrimination first hand, still they think that visible minorities suffer from discrimination; none think it is increasing, and some think that it actually decreasing. Several respondents also mentioned sex as a factor that works to the disadvantage of women in seeking employment, although one male respondent thinks discrimination in employment favours women.

CHAPTER FOUR
Statistical Findings

Job Recruitment of the MBA Graduate

Close to 50 percent of those graduating with MBA degrees (68 of 137 respondents) received their first degree in various branches of engineering or sciences. Those with a Bachelor of Arts as their first degree totalled 58 respondents (42 percent) of the sample; only 11 respondents (8 percent) came from schools of business with a bachelor's degree in commerce. This distribution is in line with the general admission policies of business schools, which tend to draw to their MBA programs students with a non-business background.

Visible minority students who enter the MBA program tend to come from the fields of engineering and the sciences in greater proportion than white students: 64 and 36 percent, respectively.

Respondents were asked to indicate their class standing upon receiving the MBA degree. Admittedly,these are subjective evaluations, and it is not possible to check the accuracy of this reporting against official records. Bearing in mind that this element of subjectivity in reporting works both ways, for visible minorities and for whites, the data in Table 1 show that the control group is skewed slightly in the direction of the upper end of the

TABLE 1
CLASS STANDING IN MBA PROGRAM UPON GRADUATION
By Ethnicity

Class Standing	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
C to B	22.4	15.7	19.0
B+	58.2	51.4	54.8
A- to A	19.4	32.9	26.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137

grade range. Whereas one out of every four visible minority student reported an A to A- grade-point average, the proportion among the whites was one out of every three MBA.

Among the reasons given for pursuing an MBA program, advancement opportunities figured more in the responses of the visible minority group than in those of the whites in the sample; the latter tended to stress more material benefits and career change. However, it must be noted that the overall differences are not very great. Table 2 demonstrates that the business ideology of success and career achievement seems to have been internalized equally by both groups.

TABLE 2
REASONS FOR PURSUING MBA DEGREE
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Reasons	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Advancement Opportunity	38.2	30.8	34.3
Career Change	20.0	27.7	24.3
Learn New Business Skills	7.3	16.9	12.6
Degree Status	1.8	-	.9
Business Skills, Career Change	18.2	6.2	11.8
Career, Money, Status	10.9	18.4	14.3
Other	3.6	-	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	55	65	120

In assessing the relative importance of various job search methods as opposed to the actual means that eventually secured a job, Tables 3-5 present a series of relevant data for the control and visible minority groups. Table 3 contrasts whites to visible minorities with respect to the average number of job applications submitted, interviews received, and job offers made. We can see from this table that, while visible minority respondents submitted on the average more applications and secured a larger number of interviews per respondent, the whites received more actual job offers.

TABLE 3
AVERAGE NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS SUBMITTED, INTERVIEWS RECEIVED, AND JOBS OFFERED AFTER MBA GRADUATION
Control Group and Visible Minority*

	Mean	Number
Applications Submitted		
Whites	17.64	59
Visible Minorities	25.00	54
Total	21.16	113
Interviews Received		
Whites	4.27	59
Visible Minorities	6.92	53
Total	5.52	112
Offers Made		
Whites	2.49	50
Visible Minorities	1.76	52
Total	2.11	102

* This table excludes those who were already employed at the time of graduation, such as part-time students as well as the unemployed and those who did not answer the question.

Various job-search methods were suggested, including university placement offices, private employment agencies, newspaper advertisements, personal contacts, and relying on family and relatives (see Table 4). Among both groups advertisements were "frequently" and "somewhat" used in greater proportions than other search methods. Next in rank is the university placement office, which the visible minorities tended to use more frequently than whites. Personal contacts were used more often by whites than by visible minorities: 54.3 percent and 37.3 percent, respectively.

TABLE 4
USE OF VARIOUS JOB-SEARCH METHODS
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Method Used	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
University Placement Office			
Frequently used	34.3	22.9	28.5
Somewhat used	19.4	21.4	20.4
Not used	43.3	51.4	47.4
Not applicable	3.0	4.3	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137
Private Employment Agency			
Frequently used	17.9	12.9	15.3
Somewhat used	26.9	20.0	23.4
Not used	52.2	62.9	57.7
Not applicable	3.0	4.3	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137
Newspaper Advertisements			
Frequently used	35.8	25.7	30.7
Somewhat used	28.4	30.0	29.2
Not used	32.8	41.4	37.2
Not applicable	3.0	2.9	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137
Personal Contact			
Frequently used	11.9	22.9	17.5
Somewhat used	25.4	31.4	28.5
Not used	58.2	41.4	49.6
Not applicable	4.5	4.3	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137
Family, Relatives			
Frequently used	3.0	4.3	3.7
Somewhat used	7.5	4.3	5.8
Not used	82.1	84.3	83.2
Not applicable	7.4	7.1	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137

It can be seen from Table 5 that for whites and visible minorities the university placement office was the most important in terms of finding a job. The use of private employment agencies was more important to visible minorities than to whites in finding jobs. The latter tended to rely more on internal promotions and direct job applications.

TABLE 5
SOURCES ATTRIBUTED TO LOCATING CURRENT JOB
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Source	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
University Placement Office	22.4	18.6	20.4
Private Employment Agency	19.4	10.0	14.6
Newspaper Ad	19.4	12.9	16.1
Personal Contact	17.9	17.1	17.5
Family, Relations	-	1.4	0.7
Direct Application	6.0	10.0	8.0
Internal Recruitment	4.5	10.0	7.3
Self-Employed	4.5	2.9	3.6
Other Organization	3.0	11.4	7.3
Don't Know	2.9	5.7	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137

When asked to evaluate the importance of various factors in securing a job, approximately 90 percent of the sample rated the university and the interview process as "very important" and "important," as is apparent in Table 6. The qualitative profiles presented in Chapter Three bear out the centrality of the interview, particularly among women, some of whom felt that company representatives (who tend to be males) discriminated against them at the outset for being women and that the conduct of the interviewer suggested that the interview was a ritual which companies had to go through in order not to appear to be discriminatory.

Two further findings in Table 6 are worth noting. First, grades are considered peripheral to one's chances of securing a job. Slightly less than 10 percent of the entire sample attached a great deal of importance to grades, while one-third felt that grades are just "important"; a slightly smaller

TABLE 6
RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN SECURING A JOB
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Factors	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
University Attended			
Very important	60.4	46.2	52.5
Important	30.2	40.0	35.8
Not very important	9.4	7.7	8.5
Not at all important	-	6.1	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	53	65	118
Grade Point Average			
Very important	9.4	7.7	8.5
Important	39.6	35.4	37.3
Not very important	34.0	33.8	33.9
Not at all important	17.0	23.1	20.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	53	65	118
Personal References			
Very important	13.2	18.5	16.1
Important	24.5	41.5	33.9
Not very important	52.8	29.2	39.8
Not at all important	9.5	10.8	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	53	65	118
Interviews			
Very important	74.6	76.8	75.7
Important	19.4	21.7	20.6
Not very important	3.0	-	1.5
Not at all important	3.0	1.5	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	69	136

proportion felt that grades were "not very important", and around one-fifth considered grades "not at all important". Second, there are significant differences between whites and visible minorities in their evaluations of the relevance of letters of reference. Sixty-two percent of the visible minority group ranked personal references as unimportant in securing their jobs, compared to 40 percent of the whites. Whites as well as visible minorities attached a great deal of importance to the interview. Fully three-quarters of each group thought that personal interviews are "very important" in the job search.

The mismatch between jobs and qualifications is reflected to a certain extent in responses to the question "Considering your current job, does it fully utilize, under-utilize, or over-utilize your overall qualifications?" As Table 7 indicates, 55 percent of the visible minorities consider their skills underutilized while only 46 percent of the whites feel this way.

TABLE 7
EXTENT OF SKILL UTILIZATION ON THE JOB
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Skill Utilization	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Over-utilized	1.5	1.5	1.5
Fully Utilized	43.3	52.2	50.7
Under-utilized	55.2	46.3	47.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	67	134

Job Characteristics

The job profile portion of the questionnaire attempted to capture current and past job locations since graduation from the MBA program. By considering age, years of employment, number of job changes, and income differentials it should be possible to assess the extent of mobility patterns among whites and visible minorities.

The data presented in Tables 8 and 9 clearly show significant differences between the control group and the experimental group. While more than 50 percent of the whites have managerial jobs, only 33 percent of the visible minorities have such jobs. When asked to classify their management level, four times as many whites as visible minorities responded that they were in senior-management positions (15.9 percent and 3.8 percent, respectively), and slightly more of the visible minorities are in non-managerial positions (21.2 percent and 14.3 percent, respectively).

TABLE 8
CURRENT JOB TITLE
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Position	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Managers	33.3	51.5	42.5
Assistant Managers	6.1	10.3	8.2
Analysts	30.3	10.3	20.1
Consultants	6.1	2.9	4.5
Trainees	1.5	2.9	2.2
Other Business	12.1	17.6	14.9
Other	10.6	4.5	7.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	68	134

TABLE 9
CURRENT MANAGEMENT LEVEL
Control Group and Visible Minorites

Management Level	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Senior Management	3.8	15.9	10.4
Middle Management	50.0	47.6	48.7
Junior Management	25.0	22.2	23.5
Non-Managerial	21.2	14.3	17.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	52	63	115

Further analysis of management levels taking into account ethnicity and whether or not the respondent has a non-English accent yields the results given in Table 10. Of all those (whites as well as visible minorities) who have an accent only one respondent (2 percent) occupied a senior-management position. Of those who do not have an accent, 10 respondents (14.3 percent) filled senior-management positions. Thus, the proportion of respondents with an accent who were placed in non-managerial positions is nearly twice as high as that of respondents with no accent (23.8 percent and 14.0 percent, respectively). It is interesting to note that a further three-way classification using in addition the ethnicity variable shows that none of the visible minority group who have no accent occupied a senior-management position. As Table 10 shows, the ten senior-management respondents within the no-accent group are whites. Those with an accent appear to have one individual, a visible minority, in a senior-management position. In retracing the occupational profile of this respondent it turns out that he is a Chinese from Trinidad who heads a small foreign concern, hardly a typical case among our visible-minority respondents.

TABLE 10
CURRENT MANAGEMENT LEVEL
Control Group and Visible Minorities, By Accent

	No Accent (%)			Accent (%)		
Level	Visible Minority	White	All	Visible Minority	White	All
Senior Management	-	17.5	14.3	2.8	-	2.0
Middle Management	42.9	45.6	45.0	55.6	71.5	57.6
Junior Management	42.9	22.8	26.7	19.4	-	16.6
Non-Managerial	5.2	14.1	14.0	22.2	8.5	23.8
	91.0				80.0	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	14	57	71	36	7	41

Visible minorities in the sample do not reach senior-management levels until they enter their fifth year of employment. Table 11 shows that the highest representation of visible minorities in the senior levels is after they had been employed for eight years or more, when it reaches 8.3 percent. These statistics were further substantiated in the qualitative responses given by the respondents. It was also felt that this pattern is more noticeable in large-scale organizations, which make it easier for visible minorities to enter but more difficult for them to rise in the promotion ladder in order to reach senior-management level.

TABLE 11
CURRENT MANAGEMENT LEVEL
Control Group and Visible Minorities, by Employment Duration

	0-2 years		3-4 years	
	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Senior Management	-	8.0	-	5.9
Middle Management	16.7	36.0	53.8	58.8
Junior Management	41.7	40.0	30.8	17.6
Non-Managerial	41.6	16.0	15.4	17.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	12	25	13	17

	5-7 years		8-20 years	
	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Senior Management	6.7	23.1	8.3	50.0
Middle Management	60.0	53.8	66.7	50.0
Junior Management	13.3	7.7	16.7	-
Non-Managerial	20.0	15.4	8.3	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	15	13	12	8

Table 12 shows the relationship between sex, ethnicity, and management level. Visible-minority women are totally absent from senior management positions. Of all the women in the sample only two occupy senior-management positions, while ten male respondents are in such positions.

TABLE 12
CURRENT MANAGEMENT LEVEL
Control Group and Visible Minorities, By Sex

	Male		Female	
Level	Visible Minorities	Whites	Visible Minorities	Whites
Senior Management	4.5	17.0	-	11.8
Middle Management	54.5	47.8	25.0	47.1
Junior Management	22.7	19.6	37.5	29.3
Non-Managerial	18.3	15.6	37.5	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	44	46	8	17

An examination of current job titles taking into account years of employment and ethnicity demonstrates, as Table 13 shows, a constant gap between the proportion of visible minorities who are in management positions and those of whites. This gap is largest in the case of those who have been employed for four years or less. The gap between whites and visible minorities narrows to 14 percentage points for those who have been employed for five to seven years and widens again for those who have been employed eight to twenty years.

Income Differences

On the face of it the overall mean income difference between whites and visible minorities is not very great: $35,878 and $34,303 respectively. However, this grand mean income conceals significant differences between and within groups within the sample. To demonstrate the nature and extent of such differences, four separate types of variable controls are introduced into the analysis: age, sex, duration of employment, and non-English accent.

TABLE 13
CURRENT JOB TITLE
Control Group and Visible Minorities by Employment Duration

	0-2 years		3-4 years	
	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Managers	14.3	37.0	26.7	58.8
Assistant Managers	7.1	18.5	6.7	5.9
Analysts	28.6	14.8	46.7	-
Consultants	21.4	-	-	5.9
Trainees	7.1	7.4	-	-
Other Business	14.3	18.5	13.3	29.4
All Others	7.1	3.8	6.7	-
	99.9		100.1	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	14	27	15	17

	5-7 years		8-20 years	
	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Managers	50.0	64.3	35.3	60.0
Assistant Managers	10.0	-	-	10.0
Analysts	25.0	14.3	23.5	10.0
Consultants	5.0	-	-	10.0
Trainees	-	-	-	-
Other Business	5.0	7.1	17.6	10.0
All Others	5.0	14.3	23.6	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	20	14	17	10

Considering income differences by age, presented in Table 14(a), we find that among whites the mean income difference between those who are below and those who are above 31 years of age is $8,088. Age plays a lesser role in determining income differences among the visible minority group, contributing to a mean income difference of $4,575. Group differences between whites and visible minorities are almost nonexistent if we confine the comparison to the younger age groups. However, among those who are above 31 years of age the mean income of whites is higher than visible minorities by $3,945.

Sex is a more important factor than ethnicity in determining income differences. The mean income difference between white males and visible minority males is $3,122; for females the mean income difference is a meagre $638. However, when we contrast the mean income difference between males and females within each of the two major ethnic groups, for whites we get a difference of $10,326, and for visible minorities a difference of $7,842. The conclusion to be drawn from Table 14 is that being a woman is more detrimental to the income of MBA graduates than being a member of a visible minority. However, being a woman and a member of a visible minority will have the greatest detrimental effect on income.

A final step in the analysis of income distribution is to examine the interplay between ethnicity and duration of employment as it affects income differences. It is apparent from Table 14(c) that those among visible minorities with the longest service suffer most in their income by comparison with the corresponding group of whites. The average income difference between whites and visible minorities who had been employed for 8 to 20 years is $13,709. Visible minorities overtake whites as a group among those employed for 3 to 4 years.

TABLE 14 (a)(b)(c)
INCOME DISTRIBUTION
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Distribution	Mean Income	N
	(a) Age	
Whites		
31 years or less	$32,447	38
31 years or more	40,535	28
All whites	35,878	66
Visible Minorities		
31 years or less	32,015	33
31 years or more	36,590	33
All visible minorities	34,303	66

Table 14 (continued)

	(b) Sex	
Whites		
Male	$38,714	49
Female	28,388	18
Visible Minorities		
Male	35,592	54
Female	27,750	12
	(c) Employment Duration	
Whites		
0-2 years	$30,944	27
3-4 years	29,764	17
5-7 years	39,230	13
8-20 years	53,750	10
Visible Minorities		
0-2 years	26,607	14
3-4 years	33,966	15
5-7 years	35,452	21
8-20 years	39,843	16

Desired and Actual Mobility Patterns

This section deals with two types of analysis: actual mobility patterns, measured by means of the number of job promotions and position and company changes, and desired promotional patterns.

From the data presented in Table 15 it is clear that visible minorities are more mobile than whites on three counts: position changes, company changes, and promotion. This could reflect two factors. First, as Table 16 shows, the visible minority sample has been in the labour force for a longer period of time: 57 percent of the visible minorities but only 34 percent of the whites, have been employed for 5 years and more. The tendency to change places of work and position is expected to be positively correlated with employment duration. Second, it could very well be that the search for new places of employment reflects in part a dissatisfaction with one's current position; it could also reflect high achievement levels in search of better job opportunities.

TABLE 15
NUMBER OF JOB CHANGES, JOB PROMOTIONS, AND COMPANY CHANGES SINCE RECEIPT OF MBA
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Changes	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
No. of Company Changes			
1-2	56.7	67.1	62.0
3-4	34.3	30.0	32.1
5-6	9.0	2.9	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137
Mean	2.65	2.42	2.54
No. of Position Changes			
1-2	26.8	55.7	41.6
3-4	56.7	32.9	44.5
5-6	16.5	11.4	13.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137
Mean	3.17	2.55	2.86
No. of Job Promotions			
1-2	50.7	58.5	54.8
3-4	38.8	34.3	36.4
5-6	10.5	7.2	8.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137
Mean	2.82	2.61	2.72

TABLE 16
NUMBER OF YEARS EMPLOYED
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Number of Years	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
0-2	20.9	41.4	31.4
3-4	22.4	24.3	23.4
5-7	31.3	20.0	25.5
8-20	25.4	14.3	19.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	137

When asked to assess their rate of progress in the company, the respondents gave answers, shown in Table 17, that do not present a clear-cut picture. While a small proportion of the visible minorities (7.5 percent) rated themselves as having a rate of progress "less rapid than expected", none of the whites thought this way. Forty-two percent of the whites noted that their progress was "as rapid as expected", while only 16 percent of the visible minorities thought so. Slightly more of the visible minorities than of the whites estimated their progress to be "more rapid than expected", 19.0 percent and 16.7 percent, respectively.

TABLE 17
RATE OF PROGRESS IN COMPANY
Control Group and Visible Minorities*

Rate	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
More Rapid Than Expected	19.4	16.7	18.0
As Rapid As Expected	16.4	42.4	29.3
Rapid First, Then Slow	13.4	1.5	7.5
Slow First, Then Rapid	10.4	9.1	9.8
Less Rapid Than Expected	7.5	-	3.8
Not Long Enough with Company	25.4	18.2	21.8
Not Applicable	7.5	12.1	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	66	133

* This table excludes those who own their businesses, have not been long enough with one company, are unemployed, or did not answer.

The propensity to move from one job to another is related to a host of socio-psychological orientations that typify the attitudes of our respondents. On the basis of the objective data presented above it is expected that attachment to the company will be lower among visible minorities, that promotion prospects will not be as promising, and that their general occupational aspirations will be lower than those of whites.

Tables 18-21 present highly relevant data in this regard. We find that more of the visible minorities than of the whites are considering leaving their current place of work (58.0 percent and 38.5 percent, respectively) and fewer think their present and future promotion prospects are very good (44.4 and 50.0 percent, 59.0 and 80.0 percent, respectively). And while 3.9 percent aspire to the position of company president (compared to 2.0 percent among the whites), significantly fewer opt for the positions of vice-president and director (39.6 percent and 82.7 percent, respectively). Approximately half of the visible minority respondents set their sights on becoming managers, while only 14.3 percent of the whites do so.

TABLE 18
CONSIDERING LEAVING COMPANY
Control Group and Visible Minorities*

Response	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Leaving	59.1	38.5	48.9
Not Leaving	40.9	61.5	51.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	65	131

TABLE 19
PRESENT PROMOTION PROSPECTS
Control Group and Visible Minorities*

Prospects	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Very Good	44.4	59.3	51.6
Fair	41.3	27.1	34.4
Little	7.9	5.1	6.6
No Prospects	6.4	8.5	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	63	59	122

TABLE 20
FUTURE PROMOTION PROSPECTS
Control Group and Visible Minorities*

Trend	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Very Good	50.0	80.0	64.8
Fair	40.3	18.3	29.5
Little	6.5	-	3.2
No Prospects	3.2	1.7	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	62	60	122

TABLE 21
ASPIRED POSITION WITHIN THE COMPANY
Control Group and Visible Minorities*

Factors	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
President	3.4	2.0	2.8
Vice-President	22.4	44.9	32.7
Director	17.2	38.8	27.1
Manager	48.3	14.3	32.7
Comptroller	8.7	-	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	58	49	107

* The data in Tables 18-21 exclude the self-employed, the unemployed, and those who did not answer the questionnaire.

A related set of questions was posed in the survey about the respondent's degree of happiness with one's work, an appraisal of job security, the extent of his freedom of expression while on the job, the degree of his job autonomy, and his position relative to others with similar qualifications with respect to earnings and seniority. The latter comparison is theoretically interesting, for it draws on the established literature of reference-group theory. Basically this theory states that a sense of relative deprivation is heightened when one rates one's position as inferior to that of other individuals with a similar status (based on the indicators of occupation and education) and that this feeling of deprivation is then translated into dissatisfaction with non-work social relations. The theory of relative deprivation has been applied successfully to explain the emergence of prejudiced attitudes.

The picture that emerges from Tables 22-28 highlights the disadvantaged position of visible minorities, except in one instance: visible minorities are less happy with their work; only 29.8 percent of the visible minority sample feel entirely free to express an opinion about company matters, compared to 50.7 percent of the whites; visible minority respondents exercise less autonomy in their work situation than whites do; the groups have identical levels of job security; and using income, seniority, and overall relative job satisfaction, visible minorities constantly express a higher sense of relative deprivation than whites.

TABLE 22
DEGREE OF HAPPINESS WITH WORK
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Degree	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Very Happy	30.8	49.3	40.2
Somewhat Happy	50.8	47.8	49.2
Undecided	9.2	2.9	6.1
Unhappy	9.2	-	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	65	67	132

TABLE 23
DEGREE OF JOB SECURITY
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Degree	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
A Great Deal	38.8	38.5	38.6
Some Security	47.8	46.2	47.0
No Security at All	13.4	15.3	14.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	65	132

TABLE 24
DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Degree	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Entirely Free	29.8	50.7	40.3
Fairly Free	59.7	34.3	47.0
Slightly Free	8.9	10.4	9.7
Not At All Free	1.6	4.6	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	67	134

TABLE 25
DEGREE OF AUTONOMY
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Degree	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
No Autonomy	1.5	-	0.8
Very Little Autonomy	7.8	4.5	6.0
Moderate Autonomy	51.5	49.2	50.4
Very Much Autonomous	39.2	46.3	42.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	67	133

TABLE 26
COMPARISON OF OVERALL JOB POSITION TO THAT OF WORKERS WITH SIMILAR QUALIFICATIONS
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Response	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Much Better	6.2	13.2	9.7
Somewhat Better	36.9	57.4	47.4
About the Same	35.4	22.1	28.5
Somewhat Worse	15.4	2.9	9.0
Much Worse	4.6	-	2.3
Cannot Compare	1.5	2.9	2.3
Don't Know	-	1.5	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	65	68	133

TABLE 27
COMPARISON OF INCOME TO THAT OF OTHERS WITH SIMILAR QUALIFICATIONS
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Degree	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
There are Others Earning More	28.8	14.1	21.5
No There Aren't Others	66.7	82.8	74.6
Don't Know	4.5	3.1	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	64	130

TABLE 28
COMPARISON OF SENIORITY TO THOSE OF OTHERS WITH SIMILAR QUALIFICATIONS
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Comparison	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
There Are Others in Senior Positions	36.4	20.3	28.5
There Aren't Others	59.1	78.1	68.5
Don't Know	4.5	1.6	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	64	130

Using specific facets of the work environment such as satisfaction with fellow workers, the work itself, salary, the company in general, and the boss, Table 29 demonstrates that the degree of satisfaction among whites with their work environment is consistently higher than that among the visible minorities.

Besides being asked to evaluate the work situation as it affected them personally, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with a list of statements respecting the career prospects of minority managers in general. It can be seen from the responses to the items in Table 30 that:

- A larger proportion of visible minorities than of whites believe that corporate success depends on family contacts, 28.9 percent and 8.6 percent, respectively.

- Befriending the boss is thought to be a useful path to success in the company by 43.8 percent of the visible minorities and only 29.4 percent of the whites.

- 68.2 percent of the visible minorities associated a non-English accent with job discrimination, while only 58.8 percent of the whites did so. It is significant to note here that 16.7 percent of visible minorities agreed strongly with this proposition, in contrast to 2.9 percent of the whites.

- Retention of ethnic customs is also thought to lead to discrimination against minority groups; a higher proportion of whites (73.2 percent) than of visible minorities (66.7 percent) thought this way

- Almost identical distributions emerged in response to the proposition that the culture of minority managers is not conducive to corporate success: close to 55 percent of the sample in both groups disagreed with the statement.

The response to this item is revealing, for it indicates that 40.9 percent of the visible minorities have internalized this image of minority managers in general, though not necessarily of themselves.

- 48.5 percent of the visible minorities endorsed the statement that minority managers are kept out of informal work networks; 37.3 percent of the whites agreed with this statement as well.

- 28.2 percent of the visible minorities and 39.4 percent of whites agree that minority managers are excluded from social activities beneficial to their progress.

- 40.7 percent of the visible minorities and 52.3 percent of the whites agreed that minority managers have difficulty finding sponsors at work who are interested in their careers.

- 30.8 percent of the visible minorities believe that minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs, compared to 18.4 percent of the whites.

- A significant finding is that 63.1 percent of the visible minorities and 66.7 percent of the whites agree with the statement that visible minorities must be better performers than whites to get ahead. However, 20.0 percent of those visible minority respondents agreeing with this statement had a strong view on the matter; among the whites only 2.9 percent supported this view strongly.

- A minority of whites (23.5 percent) and visible minorities (29.2 percent) think that minority managers lack the power possessed by whites.

- 60.6 percent of the visible minorities and 50.0 percent of the whites disagree that there is a lack of qualified minority managers.

- Only 22.4 percent of the whites and 22.7 percent of the visible minorities agreed that whites bypass minority managers by going directly to white managers.

TABLE 29
ORIENTATION TO THE WORK ENVIRONMENT
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Orientation	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Work Group			
Completely satisfied	7.5	11.9	9.7
Very satisfied	34.3	50.7	42.5
Fairly satisfied	50.7	37.4	44.0
Not very satisfied	7.5	-	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	67	134
Type of Work			
Completely satisfied	4.5	22.4	13.4
Very satisfied	40.3	50.7	45.5
Fairly satisfied	44.8	25.4	35.1
Not very satisfied	7.4	1.5	4.5
Not at all satisfied	3.0	-	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	67	134
Salary			
Completely satisfied	4.5	3.0	3.7
Very satisfied	26.9	32.8	29.9
Fairly satisfied	49.3	59.7	54.5
Not very satisfied	14.9	4.5	9.7
Not at all satisfied	4.4	-	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	67	134
Company			
Completely satisfied	3.0	7.5	5.2
Very satisfied	32.8	44.8	38.8
Fairly satisfied	56.7	44.7	50.7
Not very satisfied	6.0	3.0	4.5
Not at all satisfied	1.5	-	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	67	134
Boss or Supervisor			
Completely satisfied	3.1	9.1	6.1
Very satisfied	40.0	42.4	41.2
Fairly satisfied	44.6	43.9	44.3
Not very satisfied	10.8	3.0	6.9
Not at all satisfied	1.5	1.6	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	65	66	131

TABLE 30
PERCEPTION OF FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CAREER PROSPECTS
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Factors	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Success Depends on Family Contacts			
Strongly agree	6.0	-	2.9
Agree	22.4	8.6	15.3
Disagree	47.8	45.7	46.7
Strongly disagree	23.8	45.7	35.1
Don't know	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	67	70	131
Person Who Befriends the Boss Gets Ahead			
Strongly agree	9.4	2.9	6.1
Agree	34.4	26.5	30.3
Disagree	48.4	51.5	50.0
Strongly disagree	7.8	16.2	12.1
Don't know	-	2.9	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	64	68	132
Minorities Who Speak With An Accent Are Discriminated Against			
Strongly agree	16.7	2.9	9.7
Agree	51.5	55.9	53.7
Disagree	30.3	29.4	29.9
Strongly disagree	1.5	11.8	6.7
Don't know	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	68	134
Minorities Who Keep Their Customs Are Discriminated Against			
Strongly agree	21.2	6.0	13.5
Agree	45.5	67.2	56.4
Disagree	31.8	25.4	28.5
Strongly disagree	-	1.4	0.8
Don't know	1.5	-	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	67	133
Minority Manager's Culture is Not Conducive to Corporate Success			
Strongly agree	1.5	2.9	2.2
Agree	39.4	33.8	36.6
Disagree	50.0	51.5	50.7
Strongly disagree	4.5	4.4	4.5
Don't know	4.6	7.4	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	68	134

Perception of Factors Connected with Career Prospects (continued)

Factors	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Minority Managers Are Excluded From Informal Work Networks			
Strongly agree	6.1	3.0	4.5
Agree	42.4	34.3	38.3
Disagree	42.4	56.7	49.6
Strongly disagree	4.5	6.0	5.3
Don't know	4.6	-	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	67	133
Minority Managers Excluded From Beneficial Social Activities			
Strongly agree	6.3	3.0	4.6
Agree	21.9	36.4	29.2
Disagree	64.1	50.0	56.9
Strongly disagree	1.6	7.6	4.6
Don't know	6.1	3.0	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	64	66	130
Minority Managers Don't Have Sponsors Who Look After Their Progress			
Strongly agree	6.3	3.1	4.7
Agree	34.4	49.2	41.9
Disagree	48.4	44.6	46.5
Strongly disagree	3.1	3.1	3.1
Don't know	7.8	-	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	64	65	129
Minority Managers are Penalized More For Their Mistakes			
Strongly agree	6.2	1.5	3.8
Agree	9.2	13.4	11.4
Disagree	72.3	70.1	71.2
Strongly disagree	3.1	10.4	6.8
Don't know	9.2	4.6	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	65	67	132
Minority Managers Are Placed In Dead-End Jobs			
Strongly agree	4.6	1.5	3.1
Agree	26.2	16.9	21.5
Disagree	60.0	69.2	64.6
Strongly disagree	1.5	9.2	5.4
Don't know	7.7	3.2	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	65	65	130

Perception of Factors Connected with Career Prospects (continued)

Factors	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Minority Managers Must Be Better Performers Than Whites			
Strongly agree	20.0	2.9	11.2
Agree	43.1	63.8	53.7
Disagree	30.8	31.9	31.3
Strongly disagree	1.5	1.4	1.5
Don't know	4.6	-	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	65	69	134
Minority Managers Lack Power Whites Have			
Strongly agree	7.7	2.9	5.3
Agree	21.5	20.6	21.1
Disagree	61.5	67.6	64.7
Strongly disagree	3.1	4.4	3.8
Don't know	6.2	4.5	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	65	68	133
There Is A Lack of Qualified Minority Managers			
Strongly agree	4.5	-	2.2
Agree	30.3	39.7	35.1
Disagree	48.5	47.1	47.8
Strongly disagree	12.1	2.9	7.5
Don't know	4.6	10.3	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	68	134
Whites Bypass Minority Managers and Deal With Whites			
Strongly agree	3.0	1.5	2.3
Agree	19.7	20.9	20.2
Disagree	59.1	64.2	61.7
Strongly disagree	6.1	9.0	7.5
Don't know	12.1	4.4	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	66	67	133

Discrimination

Questions pertaining to the issue of ethnicity, race, and employment have been touched on in the previous section. A more direct set of questions dealing with employment and discrimination was posed to the respondents. First, respondents were asked three related questions concerning the position of visible minorities in the respondent's immediate area of residence:

a) "Is Discrimination against visible minorities as far as jobs, pay, or other working conditions are concerned a problem in Toronto?" (or elsewhere as applicable, depending on the respondent's locale).

b) "Do you feel that discrimination against visible minorities is increasing, decreasing, or staying the same?" As a follow-up to (a) those respondents who answered yes were asked a further question:

c) "How certain are you that there is discrimination? Are you positive, very certain, fairly certain, or not at all certain?"

Respondents were then asked to state whether their knowledge of discrimination in employment is based on first-hand experience, information provided by others, press reports, or radio and television.

Second, those who indicated a personal experience of discrimination were asked in an open-ended question to provide details. As a follow-up question those who experienced personal discrimination were asked to state in closed-ended items their response to such discrimination; the choices included launching a complaint with a superior, getting together with co-workers to complain, contacting a friend in the company, resorting to a professional association, and, finally, taking the case to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. An additional open-ended item soliciting other means of responding to discrimination was inserted in the questionnaire immediately after the close-ended responses.

Finally, the respondent was asked to evaluate the position of his/her own group within Canadian society, whether or not he/she personally has suffered from job discrimination, and his willingness to see a Job Affirmative-Action Program similar to the one in the U.S. instituted in Canada.

Tables 31-33 deal with the first set of questions. Over 50 percent of the whites and visible minorities in the sample believe that there is discrimination in employment against visible minorities. About a quarter of the sample (28.1 percent of the visible minorities and 24.2 percent of the whites) believe discrimination is increasing, while 20.3 percent of the visible minorities and 27.3 percent of the whites believe it is decreasing. There is a remarkable sense of certainty among both groups concerning the existence of employment discrimination as Table 33 shows. Only about 10 percent of the entire sample express uncertainty about their assessment of discrimination. What is so remarkable about the data in Tables 31-33 is how similar the views of whites and visible minorities are with regard to discrimination in society generally in contrast to their divergent views regarding corporate discrimination specifically.

TABLE 31
DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT A PROBLEM
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Response	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Yes	56.1	51.4	53.7
No	21.2	28.6	25.0
Don't Know	22.7	20.0	21.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	66	70	136

TABLE 32
ASSESSMENT OF DISCRIMINATION TRENDS
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Trend	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Increasing	28.1	24.2	26.2
Decreasing	20.3	27.3	23.8
Staying the Same	37.5	28.8	33.1
Dont't Know	14.1	19.7	16.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	64	66	130

TABLE 33
EXTENT OF AWARENESS THAT DISCRIMINATION IS A PROBLEM
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Extent	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Positive	22.5	23.7	23.0
Very Certain	15.0	21.1	17.9
Fairly Certain	50.0	42.1	46.2
Not At All Certain	10.0	10.5	10.3
Don't Know	2.5	2.6	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	38	78

TABLE 34
SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE CONCERNING EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION
Control Group and Visible Minorities*

Source	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Personal, First Hand	52.5	55.3	53.8
Others, Friends	80.0	57.8	69.2
Press	87.5	76.3	77.1
Radio, T.V.	77.5	68.4	73.1

*This table is confined to those who stated that discrimination is a problem (Table 31)

As expected, the data in Table 34 show that visible minorities generally glean their information about cases of discrmination from the environment in which they live. The overwhelming majority have received their information from the mass media and in general, other acquaintances. It is significant that whites are quite cognizant of discrimination; for both whites and visible minorities, the print press plays a greater informative role in this regard compared to other media sources.

Fifteen visible minority respondents and six white respondents reported personal experiences with discrimination--in other words, 22.3 percent of the former and 8.5 percent of the latter, making an overall proportion of 15.3 percent who personally experienced discrimination. The cases of discrimination reported took the form of slower promotion, racial discrimination, sexual discrimination, and language and cultural discrimination. Racial discrimination was the dominant feature of the types of discrimination given. Of those affected by discrimination personally only six have taken a specific type of action. Two have complained directly to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. It is significant to note that 11 visible minority respondents suggested saying nothing and working harder in response to instances of discrimination. Complaining to a superior, complaining to a professional association, or acting in concert with others do not appear to be considered viable methods in combatting discrimination.

The distribution of responses regarding the perception of discrimination changes drastically when the question deals with societal discrimination against one's own group. As Table 35 shows, only 5 percent denied the existence of discrimination against their specific group. Half of the visible minority respondents thought that some discrimination existed, and a minority (13 percent) said that there is a great deal of such discrimination.

As Table 36 indicates, the influence of the business ideology on the attitudes of our respondents is clearly demonstrated in the responses of the whites to the introduction of a job affirmative action program in Canada. While 50.7 percent of the whites said no to such a proposal, the proportion among visible minorities was only 29.7 percent, and a sizeable portion of visible minority respondents (48.4 percent) said that they had insufficient knowledge about the program.

TABLE 35
VISIBLE MINORITIES' ASSESSMENT OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST OWN GROUP

Extent	Visible Minorities (%)
A Great Deal	13.8
Some	50.8
Very Little	20.0
None at All	4.6
Uncertain/Didn't Answer	10.8
Total	100.0
N	65

TABLE 36
INTRODUCTION OF JOB AFFIRMATIVE-ACTION PROGRAMS IN CANADA
Control Group and Visible Minorities

Response	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)	Total (%)
Yes	21.9	27.5	24.8
No	29.7	50.7	40.6
Insufficient Information	48.4	21.8	34.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	64	69	133

Summary

The data on respondents' experiences in and attitudes towards the working world in Canada show striking differences between the visible minority and white groups. The visible minority respondents submitted more applications than whites and took more job interviews, but they received fewer job offers. Newspaper advertisements and university placement offices were the two most common job-search methods for both groups, but whites made more use of personal contacts. University placement offices were the most important means of actually finding jobs for both groups; but whereas private employment agencies, newspaper ads, and personal contacts were the next most important means for visible minorities, personal contacts were second most important for whites, and white respondents were hired through direct application and internal recruitment more often than the visible minorities.

In the jobs that respondents held at the time they were interviewed a slight majority of visible minorities considered their qualifications underutilized, while slightly less than half of the whites felt this way; few in either group felt over-utilized. The distribution of managerial jobs in the sample is quite uneven. Over half the white respondents but only a third of the visible minority respondents had managerial jobs at any level, and four times as high a proportion of whites as of visible minorities were in senior management. Only one person in the sample with a non-English accent held a senior-management position, and no visible minority respondents with less than five years of employment experience were in such positions, although a few white respondents were. Only two women, both white, held senior-management positions.

Income differentials seem to be more closely related to sex than to either age group or ethnicity. The gap between the incomes of men and women within the control and experimental groups is greater than that between all visible minority respondents and white respondents or between those 31 years old or younger and those 32 years old or older.

Visible minority respondents are considerably more mobile than whites: they changed positions and companies more often and received more promotions. However, their greater mobility has not on the whole enabled them to fulfill their career aspirations. Far more white than visible minority respondents have progressed as rapidly in their careers as they had expected or more so. More visible minority respondents than whites are considering leaving their current jobs, fewer visible minorities describe their promotion prospects as very good, and fewer aspire to top management jobs in their firms. Although visible minority and white respondents seem to feel equally secure in their jobs and have the same amount of autonomy, the visible minorities are less happy with their work in general, are less likely than whites to feel entirely free to express their opinions on work-related matters, and are more likely than whites to consider themselves worse off in their job situations than others with similar qualifications. The visible minorities also express greater dissatisfaction with other aspects of their work, such as the boss, co-workers, the company, etc., than white respondents.

Perceptions of the factors that affect career prospects do not show an entirely clear pattern of differences between the control and experimental groups, although there is broad agreement that the visible minorities are at a disadvantage in a number of respects. The visible minorities are more likely to relate career success to family contacts and befriending the boss, and they are more likely to view a non-English accent as a detriment.

Surprisingly, they are also more likely to view a minority manager's culture as not being conducive to success. They are also more likely than whites to see minority managers as excluded from informal work networks, placed in dead-end jobs, and given less power than whites. On the other hand, more white respondents think that discrimination is greater against minority managers who keep their customs and that minority managers are excluded from social activities beneficial to their careers; they also are more likely to believe that minority managers must be better performers to get ahead and that they are less likely to find a mentor within their firm.

More visible minority respondents than white respondents think discrimination in employment is a problem in Canada, and more of them think it is increasing or staying the same. Fifteen visible minority respondents and only six white respondents reported personal instances of discrimination, and the majority of visible minority respondents think there is either some or a great deal of discrimination against their own group. However, only a minority of either group supports affirmative-action programs in Canada to remedy this problem.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions

It was noted at the outset of this study that social discrimination in general and employment discrimination in particular are manifested in forms that are subtle and thus difficult to document in a clear-cut fashion. This is particularly true when the phenomenon of discrimination affects a professional group with a high profile such as the one we are dealing with in this study.

There is a tendency among professionals not to admit publicly the existence of discrimination for two main reasons. First, it is easier to avoid the admission of discrimination than to face it head on because of its psychological and social consequences, particularly if the individual perceives (rightly or wrongly) that the raising of such issues in public might have serious career and financial repercussions. Second, we are dealing with a unique group of professionals who, as business graduates, have internalized as well as idealized the ethos of individual achievement and success. This business ideology of success and profit-making tends to attribute failures to individual and personality factors rather than to institutional causes. To locate the genesis of discrimination in the institutional matrix of a society, its historical and legal developments, demands a perceptible level of politicization. Except among the Blacks in our sample such a level of political awareness does not seem to be present. Indeed, our Chinese respondents tended on the whole to reject anti-discrimination measures of a public nature that would involve them in controversial actions.

Thus while it seems from the results of this exploratory study that discrimination in employment is not the most pressing issue facing the MBA group dealt with here, it is possible to distinguish the contours of contrasting work experience profiles for visible minorities and whites:

1) Visible minority respondents with a science and engineering background tend to gravitate to MBA programs in substantially larger numbers than whites do. Of the 70 white MBA respondents comprising the control group only one is a graduate in engineering, up to 12 of the 67 visible minority respondents are engineering graduates. Overall, more than two-thirds of the visible minority group obtained their first degrees in science and engineering, which is twice as many as among the whites. It is difficult without further research to establish firm reasons for this pattern of MBA recruitment. However, it can be claimed with some certainty that a first degree in engineering has not after years of experience led the visible minority respondents to managerial positions, and they seem to have opted for an alternative route to management positions via the MBA degree. As our data show, however, even this has not solved the occupational-mobility problem for these respondents as they expected.

2) Synchronization between field of specialization and actual job placement extends from a low of 41 percent for visible minority graduates in accounting-finance to a high of 58 percent for the white graduates in marketing. However, there are clear status differences between whites and visible minorities concerning the kinds of jobs each group secures. For example, of the 19 whites who specialized in Finance only one is a financial analyst (a low-status job in relative terms), compared to 5 out of 17 of the visible minorities; Nine whites are accounting managers (six visible minorities), two whites are comptrollers (no visible minorities), and two whites are stock brokers (no visible minorities).

3) In senior-management levels, as has been noted in the study, the number of whites exceeds that of the visible minorities substantially, and more of the latter tend to be placed in non-management positions.

4) There is no linear relationship between employment duration and full managerial status, although those visible minorities employed for five years or more have a better chance of entering the managerial ranks than new entrants do.

5) The variables of sex and ethnicity produce an interesting if predictable result. None of the visible minority women held a senior-management-level position. Likewise, the group with the lowest annual earning tends to be visible minority women. The average income differential between white men and women is $10,326, while the differential between visible minority men and women is $7,842.

6) When broken down by employment duration, the greatest income gap between whites and visible minorities appears among those who have been employed for eight to 20 years: these groups have a mean income of $53,750 and $39,843, respectively. In other words, although visible minorities are able to enter senior management after a long stay in the company, their salary increases are not commensurate with their years of service.

7) The visible minority group tends to change place of work and position within the company more frequently than whites do; and more of the visible minorities are thinking of leaving their place of employment: They consider their present and future prospects of job promotion to be worse than their white counterparts do.

8) The sense of job security and autonomy is almost identical in the control and experimental groups.

9) Whites tend to be more satisfied with their income and level of seniority compared to others in the company with similar qualifications than visible minority respondents are.

10) One's non-English accent and ethnic way of life, not race or ethnicity per se, are considered by both whites and visible minorities to be detrimental to career advancement.

11) One-third of the visible minority group and less than one-fifth of the whites agreed that visible minority managers are usually placed in dead-end jobs.

12) There was a general consensus among two-thirds of the entire sample that visible minorities must be better performers than whites to get ahead in the organization.

13) Respondents did not make a direct link between discrimination directed against others in general and that directed against themselves in particular. Thus we find that discrimination against minority managers in general is acknowledged as well as social discrimination against one's own ethnic group, but few recounted incidents of discrimination affecting them personally. Around one-fifth of the visible minority sample cited personal experience with discrimination, while fewer than 10 percent of the whites reported such a experience. Most reports of incidents of discrimination among whites came from female respondents who complained of sex discrimination on the job.

14) Very few contemplated or actually undertook direct action to confront discrimination. Except among the Blacks the reaction to discrimination is generally to work harder and say nothing.

15) On the managerial level close to two-thirds of the visible minority respondents acknowledged that there is either a great deal or some form of discrimination against their own group in society.

Appendix I:
Relevant Statistical Tables

TABLE 1
AVERAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY ETHNICITY

Ethnicity	Mean	N
Whites	32.42	70
Anglo-Saxons	32.70	48
Other whites	31.60	22
Visible Minorities	32.05	67
Blacks	36.00	5
Chinese	30.30	40
Indo-Pakistani	35.70	14
Japanese	30.40	5
Other minorities	34.00	3

TABLE 2
PROGRAM OF STUDY
By Ethnicity

Program	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Full-time	59.7	57.1
Part-time	26.9	24.3
Full/Part-time	6.0	8.6
Co-op	7.4	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0
N	67	70

TABLE 3
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FIRST DEGREE SPECIALIZATION AND ETHNICITY

First Degree	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Bachelor of Arts	25.3	58.5
Bachelor of Science	46.2	34.3
Bachelor of Engineering	17.9	1.4
Bachelor of Commerce	10.6	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0
N	67	70

TABLE 4
JOB TITLE BY ETHNICITY AND AGE

	31 Years or Less		31 Years or More	
Title	Visible Minorities	Whites	Visible Minorities	Whites
Managers	31.3	47.4	35.3	55.2
Assistant Managers	12.5	13.2	-	6.8
Analysts	28.1	13.2	32.4	6.9
Consultants	9.4	2.6	2.9	3.4
Trainees	3.1	2.6	-	3.4
Other Business	12.5	18.4	11.8	17.2
All Others	3.1	2.6	17.6	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	32	38	34	29

TABLE 5
JOB TITLE BY ACCENT

Title	Non-English Accent	No Accent
Managers	39.2	42.5
Assistant Managers	1.9	12.5
Analysts	31.4	13.7
Consultants	3.9	5.0
Trainees	-	3.8
Other Business	11.8	17.5
All Others	11.8	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0
N	51	80

TABLE 6
NUMBER OF JOB PROMOTIONS SINCE RECEIPT OF MBA DEGREE
By Ethnicity and Age

	31 Years or Less		31 Years or More	
Promotions	Visible Minorities	Whites	Visible Minorities	Whites
1-2	54.5	53.9	47.1	63.3
3-4	39.4	41.0	38.2	26.7
5+	6.1	5.1	14.7	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 7
EXTENT OF SKILL UTILIZATION ON THE JOB
By Ethnicity and Sex

	MALES			FEMALES		
Skill Utilization	Visible Minorities	Whites	All	Visible Minorities	Whites	All
Overutilization	1.8	2.0	1.9	-	-	-
Underutilization	58.2	50.0	54.3	37.9	41.7	35.3
Fully Utilized	40.0	48.0	43.8	62.1	58.3	64.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	55	50	105	29	12	17

TABLE 8
PERCEPTION OF LIFE IN CANADA PRIOR TO IMMIGRATION
By Ethnicity*

Type of Perception	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Better	32.7	50.0
About the Same	40.0	50.0
Mixed Feelings	14.5	-
Worse	5.4	-
No Answer	7.4	-
Total	100.0	100.0
N	55	14

* This table excludes those born in Canada.

TABLE 9
MONEY AND MATERIAL THINGS ARE IMPORTANT
By Ethnicity

Response	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Strongly Agree	9.1	13.0
Agree	48.5	59.4
Ambivalent	25.8	18.8
Disagree	15.2	8.7
Strong Disagree	1.5	-
Total	100.0	100.0
N	66	69

TABLE 10
AUTHORITY LEVEL IN WORKPLACE
By Ethnicity

Authority Level	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
(a) Hire or Fire Others		
Yes	37.3	50.8
No	62.7	49.2
Total	100.0	100.0
N	67	61
(b) Set Rate of Pay for Others		
Yes	53.7	59.1
No	46.3	40.9
Total	100.0	100.0
N	67	66
(c) Someone Else Sets Rate of Pay		
Yes	93.9	97.0
No	6.1	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0
N	66	67
(d) Supervises Work of Others		
Yes	70.1	74.2
No	29.9	25.8
Total	100.0	100.0
N	67	67
(e) Someone Supervises Your Work		
Yes	89.6	94.1
No	10.4	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0
N	67	67

TABLE 11
AUTHORITY LEVEL IN WORKPLACE
By Sex

	Males (%)	Females (%)
Hire or Fire Others		
Yes	43.8	35.7
No	56.2	64.3
Total	100.0	100.0
N	105	28
Set Rate of Pay for Others		
Yes	59.0	46.5
No	41.0	53.5
Total	100.0	100.0
N	105	28
Someone Else Sets Rate of Pay		
Yes	95.3	96.4
No	4.7	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0
N	105	28
Supervises Work of Others		
Yes	74.3	64.3
No	25.7	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0
N	105	28
Someone Supervises Your Work		
Yes	90.5	96.4
No	9.5	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0
N	105	28

TABLE 12
EVALUATION OF FACTORS AFFECTING ACHIEVING DESIRED POSITION
By Ethnicity

Factors Affecting Achievement	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Work Accomplishment		
Advantage	96.8	100.0
Irrelevant	1.6	-
Obstacle	1.6	-
Work Experience		
Advantage	93.8	96.4
Irrelevant	4.7	3.6
Obstacle	1.5	-
Help from Friend		
Advantage	48.4	47.3
Irrelevant	50.0	52.7
Obstacle	1.6	-
Help from Relation		
Advantage	14.1	9.3
Irrelevant	82.8	88.9
Obstacle	3.1	1.8
Technical Skill		
Advantage	76.6	89.3
Irrelevant	21.9	10.7
Obstacle	1.6	-
Boss		
Advantage	81.3	92.6
Irrelevant	12.5	-
Obstacle	6.3	7.4
Educational Level		
Advantage	73.4	83.9
Irrelevant	26.6	16.1
Obstacle	-	-
Growth of Business		
Advantage	68.8	73.2
Irrelevant	25.0	19.6
Obstacle	6.2	9.2
Race & Ethnic Identification		
Advantage	4.7	11.3
Irrelevant	65.6	86.8
Obstacle	29.7	1.9
Political Skill		
Advantage	67.2	89.1
Irrelevant	25.0	9.1
Obstacle	7.8	1.8
Sex		
Advantage	20.3	24.5
Irrelevant	67.2	60.4
Obstacle	12.5	15.1

Evaluation of Factors Affecting Achieving Desired Position (continued)

Factors Affecting Achievement	Visible Minorities (%)	Whites (%)
Age		
Advantage	31.7	47.3
Irrelevant	58.7	43.6
Obstacle	9.6	8.1
Seniority		
Advantage	46.9	60.0
Irrelevant	40.6	36.4
Obstacle	12.5	3.6
Marital Status		
Advantage	3.1	11.1
Irrelevant	95.3	85.3
Obstacle	1.6	5.6
Non-English Accent		
Advantage	2.0	-
Irrelevant	58.0	80.0
Obstacle	40.0	20.0

Appendix II:

Within-Group Comparisons for Visible Minorities and Whites

TABLE 1
CLASS STANDING IN MBA PROGRAM UPON GRADUATION
By Ethnicity

Class Standing	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
C to B	22.5	40.0	-	21.4	33.3	15.7
B+	55.0	60.0	80.0	64.3	33.3	51.4
A- to A	22.5	-	20.0	14.3	33.3	32.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70

TABLE 2
REASONS FOR PURSUING MBA DEGREE
By Ethnicity

Reasons	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Advancement Opportunity	32.4	25.0	-	58.3	66.7	30.8
Career Change	11.8	50.0	100.0	25.0	-	27.7
Learn New Business Skills	5.9	-	-	16.7	-	16.9
Degree Status	-	-	-	-	33.3	-
Business Skills,Career Change	29.4	-	-	-	-	6.2
Career, Money, Status	14.7	25.0	-	-	-	18.4
Other	5.9	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	34	4	2	12	3	65

TABLE 3
AVERAGE NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS SUBMITTED, INTERVIEWS RECEIVED, AND JOBS OFFERED AFTER MBA GRADUATION
By Ethnicity

		Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Applications Submitted							
	Mean	24.23	32.50	26.60	32.13	2.00	17.64
	N	34	4	5	8	3	59
Interviews Received							
	Mean	7.86	2.75	6.80	6.50	2.67	4.27
	N	35	4	5	6	3	59
Offers Made							
	Mean	2.00	1.25	1.40	1.20	1.33	2.49
	N	35	4	5	5	3	59

TABLE 4
USE OF VARIOUS JOB SEARCH METHODS
By Ethnicity

Method Used	Chinese (%)	Japan-ese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
University Placement Office						
Frequently used	42.5	40.0	20.0	14.3	33.3	22.9
Somewhat used	15.0	20.0	20.0	28.6	33.3	21.4
Not used	40.0	40.0	40.0	57.1	33.3	51.4
Not applicable	2.5	-	20.0	-	-	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70
Private Employment Agency						
Frequently used	12.5	20.0	60.0	21.4	-	12.9
Somewhat used	25.0	20.0	20.0	35.7	33.3	20.0
Not used	57.5	60.0	20.0	42.9	66.7	62.9
Not applicable	5.0	-	-	-	-	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70
Newspaper Advertisements						
Frequently used	40.0	-	20.0	35.7	66.7	25.7
Somewhat used	22.5	60.0	20.0	42.9	-	30.0
Not used	35.0	40.0	60.0	14.3	33.3	41.4
Not applicable	2.5	-	-	7.1	-	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70
Personal Contact						
Frequently used	7.5	20.0	40.0	14.3	-	22.9
Somewhat used	20.0	20.0	20.0	35.7	66.7	31.4
Not used	67.5	60.0	40.0	42.9	33.3	41.4
Not applicable	5.0	-	-	7.1	-	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70
Family, Relatives						
Frequently used	2.5	-	-	-	33.3	4.3
Somewhat used	5.0	-	20.0	-	66.7	4.3
Not used	87.5	100.0	60.0	85.7	-	84.3
Not applicable	5.0	-	20.0	14.3	-	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70

TABLE 5
SOURCES ATTRIBUTED TO LOCATING CURRENT JOB
By Ethnicity

Source	Chinese (%)	Japan-ese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
University Placement Office	27.5	20.0	-	14.3	33.3	18.6
Private Employment Agency	17.5	-	60.0	21.4	-	10.0
Newspaper Ad	25.0	-	-	14.3	33.3	12.9
Personal Contact	12.5	40.0	20.0	21.4	33.3	17.1
Family, Relations	-	-	-	-	-	1.4
Direct Application	5.0	20.0	20.0	-	-	10.0
Internal Recruitment	7.5	-	-	-	-	10.0
Self-Employed	2.5	-	-	14.3	-	2.9
Other Organization	-	20.0	-	7.1	-	11.4
Don't Know	2.5	-	-	7.1	-	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70

TABLE 6
RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN SECURING A JOB
By Ethnicity

Factors	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
University Attended						
Very important	59.4	75.0	50.0	58.3	66.7	46.2
Important	28.1	25.0	50.0	33.3	33.3	40.0
Not very important	12.5	-	-	8.3	-	7.7
Not at all important	-	-	-	-	-	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	32	4	2	12	3	65
Grade Point Average						
Very important	12.5	-	-	8.3	-	7.7
Important	53.1	50.0	-	16.7	-	35.4
Not very important	28.1	50.0	-	41.7	66.7	33.8
Not at all important	8.3	-	100.0	33.3	33.3	23.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	32	4	2	12	3	65
References						
Very important	12.5	25.0	-	8.3	33.3	18.5
Important	15.6	25.0	100.0	41.7	-	41.5
Not very important	59.4	50.0	-	41.7	66.7	29.2
Not at all important	12.5	-	-	8.3	-	10.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	32	4	2	12	3	65
Interviews						
Very important	67.5	100.0	80.0	85.7	66.7	76.8
Important	25.0	-	-	14.3	33.3	21.7
Not very important	5.0	-	-	-	-	-
Not at all important	2.5	-	20.0	-	-	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	69

TABLE 7
EXTENT OF SKILL UTILIZATION ON THE JOB
By Ethnicity

Skill Utilization	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Overutilized	2.5	-	-	-	-	1.5
Fully Utilized	47.5	100.0	100.0	50.0	33.3	46.3
Underutilized	50.0	-	-	50.0	66.7	52.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	67

TABLE 8
CURRENT JOB TITLE
By Ethnicity

Position	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Managers	35.0	20.0	40.0	38.5	-	51.5
Assistant Managers	7.5	-	-	-	33.3	10.3
Analysts	32.5	40.0	-	23.1	66.7	10.3
Consultants	7.5	20.0	-	-	-	2.9
Trainees	-	-	-	7.7	-	2.9
Other Business	12.5	20.0	40.0	-	-	17.6
Other	5.0	-	20.0	30.8	-	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	13	3	68

TABLE 9
CURRENT MANAGEMENT LEVEL
By Ethnicity

Management Level	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Senior Management	-	-	100.0	-	-	15.9
Middle Management	51.6	25.0	-	58.3	66.7	47.6
Junior Management	22.6	25.0	-	41.7	-	22.2
Non-Management Level	25.8	50.0	-	-	33.3	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	31	4	2	12	3	63

TABLE 10
CURRENT MANAGEMENT LEVEL
By Ethnicity and Accent

NO ACCENT Level	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Senior Management	-	-	-	-	-	17.6
Middle Management	44.4	33.3	-	-	100.0	45.6
Junior Management	44.4	33.3	-	100.0	-	22.8
Non-Management	11.2	33.3	-	-	-	14.0
Total	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	9	3	0	1	1	57
ACCENT Level						
Senior Management	-	-	100.0	-	-	-
Middle Management	54.5	-	-	63.6	50.0	80.0
Junior Management	13.6	-	-	36.4	-	-
Non-Management	31.8	100.0	-	-	50.0	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	22	1	1	11	2	5

TABLE 11
CURRENT MANAGEMENT LEVEL
By Ethnicity and Employment Duration

0 - 2 YEARS	Chinese (%)	Japan-ese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Senior	-	-	-	-	-	8.0
Middle	22.2	-	-	-	-	36.0
Junior	33.3	50.0	-	100.0	-	40.0
Non-Management	44.4	50.0	-	-	-	16.0
Total	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	-	100.0
N	9	2	0	1	0	25
3 - 4 YEARS						
Senior	-	-	-	-	-	6.0
Middle	55.6	-	-	33.3	100.0	58.8
Junior	22.2	-	-	66.7	-	17.6
Non-Management	22.2	-	-	-	-	17.6
Total	100.0	-	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	9	0	0	3	1	17
5 - 7 YEARS						
Senior	-	-	100.0	-	-	23.1
Middle	77.8	-	-	66.7	-	53.8
Junior	11.1	-	-	33.3	-	7.7
Non-Management	11.1	100.0	-	-	100.0	15.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	9	1	1	3	1	13
8 - 20 YEARS						
Senior	-	-	100.0	-	-	50.0
Middle	50.0	100.0	-	80.0	100.0	50.0
Junior	25.0	-	-	20.0	-	-
Non-Management	25.0	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	25	2	2	12	3	46

TABLE 12
CURRENT MANAGEMENT LEVEL
By Ethnicity and Sex

MALE Level	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Senior	-	-	100.0	-	-	17.4
Middle	56.0	50.0	-	58.3	66.7	47.8
Junior	20.0	-	-	41.7	-	19.6
Non-Management	24.0	50.0	-	-	33.3	15.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	25	2	2	12	3	46
FEMALE **Level**						
Senior	-	-	-	-	-	11.8
Middle	33.3	-	-	-	-	47.0
Junior	33.3	50.0	-	-	-	29.4
Non-Management	33.3	50.0	-	-	-	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
N	6	2	0	0	0	17

TABLE 13
CURRENT JOB TITLE
By Ethnicity and Employment Duration

0 - 2 YEARS	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Managers	20.0	-	-	-	-	37.0
Assistant Managers	10.0	-	-	-	-	18.5
Analysts	30.0	33.3	-	-	-	14.8
Consultants	20.0	33.3	-	-	-	-
Trainees	-	-	-	100.0	-	7.4
Other Business	10.0	33.3	-	-	-	18.5
All Others	10.0	-	-	-	-	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	-	100.0
N	10	3	0	1	0	27
3 - 4 YEARS						
Managers	36.4	-	-	-	-	58.8
Assistant Managers	-	-	-	-	100.0	5.9
Analysts	45.5	-	-	66.7	-	-
Consultants	-	-	-	-	-	5.9
Trainees	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Business	18.2	-	-	-	-	29.4
All Others	-	-	-	33.3	-	-
Total	100.0	-	-	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	11	0	0	3	1	17
5 - 7 YEARS						
Managers	45.5	-	66.7	75.0	-	64.3
Assistant Managers	18.2	-	-	-	-	-
Analysts	18.2	100.0	-	25.0	100.0	14.3
Consultants	9.1	-	-	-	-	-
Trainees	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Business	9.1	-	-	-	-	7.1
All Others	-	-	33.3	-	-	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	11	1	3	4	1	14

8 - 20 YEARS (continued)

Managers	37.5	100.0	-	40.0	-	60.0
Assistant Managers	-	-	-	-	-	10.0
Analysts	37.5	-	-	-	100.0	10.0
Consultants	-	-	-	-	-	10.0
Trainees	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Business	12.5	-	100.0	-	-	10.0
All Others	12.5	-	-	60.0	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	8	1	2	5	1	10

TABLE 14
INCOME DISTRIBUTION
By Ethnicity

Distribution	Chinese	Japanese	Black	Indo-Pakistn.	Other Minorty	White
AGE:						
31 Years or Less Income	$33145	$26333	$32500	$30125	$29000	$32447
32 Years or More Income	$34312	$40000	$31125	$43222	$32500	$40500
N	40	5	5	13	3	66
SEX:						
Male Mean Income	$35833	$32833	$31400	$39192	$31333	$38367
Female Mean Income	$26950	$30250	-	-	-	$28222
N	40	5	5	13	3	67
EMPLOYMENT DURATION:						
0 - 2 Years Mean Income	$27050	$26333	-	$23000	-	$30926
3 - 4 Years Mean Income	$33454	-	-	$37500	$29000	$29764
5 - 7 Years Mean Income	$37727	$37500	$25666	$36500	$32500	$39153
8 - 20 Years Mean Income	$36375	$42500	$40000	$47875	$32500	$53700
N	40	5	5	13	3	67

TABLE 15
NUMBER OF JOB CHANGES, JOB PROMOTIONS AND COMPANY CHANGES SINCE RECEIPT OF MBA
By Ethnicity

Changes	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
No. of Company Changes						
1-2	57.5	60.0	40.0	57.2	66.7	67.1
3-4	32.5	40.0	60.0	28.6	33.3	30.0
5-6	10.0	-	-	14.2	-	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70
Mean	2.60	2.80	3.00	2.71	2.33	2.43
No. of Position Changes						
1-2	30.0	40.0	20.0	14.3	33.3	55.7
3-4	52.5	40.0	60.0	78.5	33.3	32.9
5-6	17.5	20.0	20.0	7.2	33.3	11.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70
Mean	3.20	2.80	3.60	3.07	3.33	2.56
No. of Job Promotions						
1-2	50.0	80.0	60.0	42.8	33.3	58.6
3-4	37.5	-	40.0	57.2	33.3	34.3
5-6	12.5	20.0	-	-	33.3	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70
Mean	2.83	2.40	2.20	2.93	4.00	2.61

TABLE 16
NUMBER OF YEARS EMPLOYED

Number of Years	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
0-2	25.0	60.0	-	7.2	-	41.4
3-4	27.5	-	-	21.4	33.3	24.3
5-7	27.5	20.0	60.0	35.7	33.3	20.0
8-20	20.0	20.0	40.0	35.7	33.3	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70

TABLE 17
RATE OF PROGRESS IN COMPANY
By Ethnicity*

Rate	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
More Rapid Than Expected	27.5	-	20.0	-	33.3	16.7
As Rapid As Expected	10.0	-	-	42.9	33.3	42.4
Rapid First, Then Slow	17.5	20.0	-	-	33.3	1.5
Slow First, Then Rapid	7.5	20.0	20.0	14.3	-	9.1
Less Rapid Than Expected	2.5	20.0	40.0	7.1	-	-
Not Long Enough with Company	30.0	40.0	-	21.4	-	18.2
Not Applicable	5.0	-	20.0	14.3	-	12.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	66

TABLE 18
CONSIDERING LEAVING COMPANY
By Ethnicity

Response	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Leaving	60.0	80.0	80.0	38.5	66.7	38.5
Not Leaving	40.0	20.0	20.0	61.5	33.3	61.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	13	3	65

TABLE 19
PRESENT PROMOTION PROSPECTS
By Ethnicity

Prospects	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Very Good	55.3	60.0	20.0	16.7	33.3	59.3
Fair	34.2	40.0	40.0	66.7	33.3	27.1
Little	2.6	-	20.0	16.7	33.3	5.1
No Prospects	7.9	-	20.0	-	-	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	38	5	5	12	3	59

TABLE 20
FUTURE PROMOTION PROSPECTS
By Ethnicity

Trend	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Very Good	59.5	80.0	50.0	15.4	33.3	80.0
Fair	35.1	20.0	25.0	61.5	66.7	18.3
Little	2.7	-	-	23.1	-	-
No Prospects	2.7	-	25.0	-	-	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	37	5	4	13	3	60

TABLE 21
POSITION ASPIRED TO WITHIN THE COMPANY
By Ethnicity

Factors	Chinese (%)	Japan-ese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
President	-	-	-	16.7	-	2.0
Vice-President	17.6	20.0	40.0	33.3	-	44.9
Director	17.6	-	20.0	25.0	-	38.8
Manager	52.9	80.0	20.0	25.0	100.0	14.3
Comptroller	11.8	-	20.0	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	34	5	5	12	2	49

TABLE 22
DEGREE OF HAPPINESS WITH WORK
By Ethnicity

Response	Chinese (%)	Japan-ese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Very Happy	27.5	-	20.0	46.2	100.0	49.3
Somewhat Happy	52.5	80.0	40.0	46.2	-	47.8
Undecided	10.0	20.0	20.0	-	-	2.9
Unhappy	10.0	-	20.0	7.6	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	13	2	67

TABLE 23
DEGREE OF JOB SECURITY,
By Ethnicity

Degree	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
A Great Deal	42.5	60.0	20.0	35.7	-	38.5
Some Security	45.0	40.0	60.0	42.9	100.0	46.2
No Security at All	12.5	-	20.0	21.4	-	15.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	65

TABLE 24
DEGREE OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
By Ethnicity

Response	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Entirely Free	37.5	40.0	20.0	7.1	33.3	50.7
Fairly Free	50.0	60.0	60.0	92.9	33.3	34.3
Slightly Free	10.0	-	20.0	-	33.3	10.4
Not At All Free	2.5	-	-	-	-	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	67

TABLE 25
DEGREE OF AUTONOMY
By Ethnicity

Degree	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
No Autonomy	2.5	-	-	-	-	-
Very Little Autonomy	12.5	-	-	-	-	4.5
Moderate Autonomy	37.5	60.0	80.0	84.6	33.3	49.3
Very Much Autonomous	47.5	40.0	20.0	15.4	66.7	46.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	13	3	67

TABLE 26
COMPARISON OF OVERALL JOB POSITION TO THAT OF INDIVIDUALS
WITH SIMILAR QUALIFICATIONS
By Ethnicity

Response	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Much Better	10.0	-	-	-	-	13.2
Somewhat Better	40.0	40.0	40.0	25.0	33.3	57.4
About the Same	37.5	40.0	-	33.3	66.7	22.1
Somewhat Worse	10.0	-	40.0	33.3	-	2.9
Much Worse	2.5	20.0	20.0	-	-	-
Cannot Compare	-	-	-	-	-	1.5
Don't Know	-	-	-	8.4	-	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	12	3	68

TABLE 27
COMPARISON OF INCOME TO THAT OF OTHERS WITH SIMILAR QUALIFICATIONS
By Ethnicity

Degree	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
There are Others Earning More	25.0	40.0	60.0	30.8	-	14.1
No There Aren't Others	70.0	60.0	40.0	61.5	100.0	82.8
Don't Know	5.0	-	-	7.7	-	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	13	3	64

TABLE 28
COMPARISON OF SENIORITY TO THAT OF OTHERS WITH SIMILAR QUALIFICATIONS
By Ethnicity

Comparison	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
There Are Others in Senior Positions	30.0	40.0	60.0	30.8	-	14.1
There Aren't Others	65.0	60.0	20.0	46.2	100.0	78.1
Don't Know	5.0	-	-	7.6	-	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	13	3	64

TABLE 29
ORIENTATION TO THE WORK ENVIRONMENT
By Ethnicity

Orientation	Chinese (%)	Japan-ese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Work Group						
Completely satisfied	2.5	-	-	28.6	-	11.9
Very satisfied	32.5	20.0	40.0	42.9	33.3	50.7
Fairly satisfied	57.5	60.0	60.0	28.6	33.3	37.3
Not very satisfied	7.5	20.0	-	-	33.3	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	67
Type of Work						
Completely satisfied	-	-	-	21.4	-	22.4
Very satisfied	40.0	20.0	20.0	50.0	66.7	50.7
Fairly satisfied	45.0	80.0	80.0	21.4	33.3	25.4
Not very satisfied	10.0	-	-	7.2	-	1.5
Not at all satisfied	5.0	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	67
Salary						
Completely satisfied	-	-	-	21.4	-	3.0
Very satisfied	32.5	20.0	-	28.6	-	32.8
Fairly satisfied	55.0	80.0	20.0	28.6	66.7	59.7
Not very satisfied	10.0	-	40.0	21.4	33.3	4.5
Not at all satisfied	2.5	-	40.0	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	67
Company						
Completely satisfied	-	-	-	14.3	-	7.5
Very satisfied	42.5	-	20.0	28.6	-	44.8
Fairly satisfied	50.0	100.0	80.0	42.9	100.0	44.8
Not very satisfied	5.0	-	-	14.3	-	2.9
Not at all satisfied	2.5	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	67
Boss or Supervisor						
Completely satisfied	-	-	-	15.4	-	9.1
Very satisfied	43.6	40.0	20.0	38.5	33.3	42.4
Fairly satisfied	43.6	60.0	80.0	30.8	33.3	43.9
Not very satisfied	10.3	-	-	15.3	33.3	3.0
Not at all satisfied	2.6	-	-	-	-	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	5	5	13	3	66

TABLE 30
PERCEPTION OF FACTORS CONNECTED WITH CAREER PROSPECTS
By Ethnicity

Factors	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Success Depends on Family Contacts						
Strongly agree	-	20.0	40.0	7.2	-	-
Agree	22.5	40.0	-	21.4	33.3	8.6
Disagree	52.5	-	60.0	50.0	33.3	45.7
Strongly disagree	25.0	40.0	-	21.4	33.3	45.7
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	5	14	3	70
Person Who Gets Ahead Befriends the Boss						
Strongly agree	5.1	20.0	25.0	15.4	-	2.9
Agree	35.9	40.0	50.0	23.1	33.6	26.5
Disagree	53.8	40.0	25.0	38.4	66.7	51.5
Strongly disagree	5.1	-	-	23.1	-	16.2
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	5	4	13	3	68
Minorities Who Speak With An Accent Discriminated Against						
Strongly agree	7.7	20.0	80.0	21.4	-	2.9
Agree	56.4	60.0	20.0	50.0	33.3	55.9
Disagree	35.9	20.0	-	21.4	66.7	29.4
Strongly disagree	-	-	-	7.2	-	11.8
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	5	5	14	3	68
Minorities Who Keep Their Customs Are Discriminated Against						
Strongly agree	12.8	20.0	60.0	35.7	-	6.0
Agree	38.5	80.0	40.0	50.0	66.7	67.2
Disagree	46.2	-	-	14.3	33.3	25.4
Strongly disagree	-	-	-	-	-	1.4
Don't know	2.5	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	5	5	14	3	67
Minority Manager's Culture is Not Conducive to Corporate Success						
Strongly agree	-	20.0	-	-	-	2.9
Agree	53.8	-	20.0	21.4	33.3	33.8
Disagree	43.6	60.0	80.0	50.0	66.7	51.5
Strongly disagree	-	-	-	21.4	-	4.4
Don't know	2.6	20.0	-	7.2	-	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	5	5	14	3	68

Perception of Factors Connected with Career Prospects (continued)

Factors	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Minority Managers Are Excluded From Informal Work Networks						
Strongly agree	5.1	-	20.0	7.1	-	3.0
Agree	38.5	60.0	20.0	50.0	66.7	34.3
Disagree	51.3	20.0	40.0	28.6	33.3	56.7
Strongly disagree	2.6	-	-	14.3	-	6.0
Don't know	2.5	20.0	20.0	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	5	5	14	3	67
Minority Managers Excluded From Beneficial Social Activities						
Strongly agree	5.1	-	20.0	7.7	-	3.0
Agree	20.5	50.0	-	30.8	-	36.4
Disagree	69.2	25.0	60.0	53.8	100.0	50.0
Strongly disagree	2.6	-	-	-	-	7.6
Don't know	2.6	25.0	20.0	7.7	-	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	4	5	13	3	66
Minority Managers Don't Have Sponsors Who Look After Their Progress						
Strongly agree	2.6	-	40.0	7.7	-	3.1
Agree	25.6	50.0	40.0	53.8	33.3	49.2
Disagree	64.1	25.0	-	30.8	33.3	44.6
Strongly disagree	2.6	-	-	-	33.3	3.1
Don't know	5.1	25.0	20.0	7.7	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	4	5	13	3	65
Minority Maangers are Penalized More For Their Mistakes						
Strongly agree	2.6	-	20.0	14.3	-	1.5
Agree	10.3	25.0	20.0	-	-	13.4
Disagree	79.5	50.0	20.0	78.6	66.7	70.1
Strongly disagree	2.6	-	-	-	33.3	10.4
Don't know	5.0	25.0	40.0	7.1	-	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	4	5	14	3	67
Minority Managers Are Placed In Dead-End Jobs						
Strongly agree	2.6	-	-	14.3	-	1.5
Agree	20.5	50.0	40.0	21.4	66.7	16.9
Disagree	71.8	25.0	40.0	57.1	-	69.2
Strongly disagree	2.6	-	-	-	-	9.2
Don't know	2.6	25.0	20.0	7.2	33.3	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	4	5	14	3	65

Perception of Factors Connected with Career Prospects (continued)

Factors	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Minority Managers Must Be Better Performers Than Whites						
Strongly agree	12.8	-	40.0	35.7	33.3	3.0
Agree	51.3	50.0	40.0	21.4	33.3	65.7
Disagree	35.9	25.0	-	28.6	33.3	32.8
Strongly disagree	-	-	-	7.1	-	1.5
Don't know	-	25.0	20.0	7.1	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	4	5	14	3	67
Minority Managers Lack Power Whites Have						
Strongly agree	7.7	-	-	14.3	-	2.9
Agree	20.5	50.0	60.0	-	33.3	20.6
Disagree	66.7	25.0	20.0	71.4	66.7	67.6
Strongly disagree	2.6	-	-	7.1	-	4.4
Don't know	2.6	25.0	20.0	7.1	-	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	4	5	14	3	68
There Is Lack of Qualified Minority Managers						
Strongly agree	5.0	-	20.0	-	-	-
Agree	40.0	-	-	21.4	33.3	39.7
Disagree	47.5	75.0	60.0	42.9	33.3	47.1
Strongly disagree	5.0	-	20.0	28.6	33.3	2.9
Don't know	2.5	25.0	-	7.1	-	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	4	5	14	3	68
Whites Bypass Minority Managers and Deal With Whites						
Strongly agree	2.5	-	20.0	-	-	1.5
Agree	12.5	50.0	-	35.7	33.3	20.9
Disagree	70.0	25.0	80.0	42.9	-	64.2
Strongly disagree	5.0	-	-	7.1	33.3	9.0
Don't know	10.0	25.0	-	14.3	33.3	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	4	5	14	3	67

TABLE 31
DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT A PROBLEM
By Ethnicity

Response	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Yes	48.7	40.0	100.0	57.1	100.0	51.4
No	33.3	-	-	7.1	-	28.6
Don't Know	18.0	60.0	-	35.7	-	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	5	5	14	3	70

TABLE 32
ASSESSMENT OF DISCRIMINATION TRENDS
By Ethnicity

Trend	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Increasing	20.5	25.0	80.0	30.8	33.3	24.2
Decreasing	20.5	50.0	-	15.4	33.3	27.3
Staying the Same	48.7	-	20.0	23.1	33.3	28.8
Dont't Know	10.3	25.0	-	30.7	-	19.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	4	5	13	3	66

TABLE 33
EXTENT OF AWARENESS THAT DISCRIMINATION IS A PROBLEM
By Ethnicity

Extent	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Positive	10.3	-	60.0	18.2	33.3	13.8
Very Certain	10.3	25.0	-	18.2	-	12.3
Fairly Certain	37.9	50.0	40.0	27.3	66.7	24.6
Not At All Certain	10.3	-	-	9.1	-	6.2
Don't Know	31.2	25.0	-	27.4	-	43.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	29	4	5	11	3	65

TABLE 34
PERCENT RESPONDENTS INDICATING KNOWLEDGE OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION
BY SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE
By Ethnicity*

Source	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Personal, First Hand	38.1	33.3	100.0	75.0	33.3	55.3
Others, Friends	71.4	100.0	100.0	100.0	33.3	57.9
Press	85.7	66.7	80.0	100.0	100.0	76.3
Radio, T.V.	71.4	66.7	80.0	100.0	66.7	68.4

*This table is confined to those who acknowledged that discrimination is a problem (Table 31)

TABLE 35
VISIBLE MINORITIES' ASSESSMENT OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST OWN GROUP

Extent	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
A Great Deal	5.1	-	80.0	23.1	-	-
Some	53.8	40.0	20.0	53.8	66.7	5.8
Very Little	28.2	20.0	-	7.7	-	1.4
None at All	5.1	20.0	-	-	-	1.4
Uncertain/Didn't Answer	7.8	20.0	-	15.4	33.3	91.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	39	5	5	13	3	69

TABLE 36
INTRODUCTION OF JOB AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS IN CANADA
By Ethnicity

Response	Chinese (%)	Japanese (%)	Black (%)	Indo-Pakistn. (%)	Other Minorty (%)	White (%)
Yes	20.0	20.0	33.3	23.1	33.3	27.5
No	32.5	20.0	66.7	15.4	33.3	50.7
Insufficient Information	47.5	60.0	-	61.4	33.3	21.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	40	5	3	13	3	69

Appendix III:

Race, Ethnicity and Employment:
An Annotated Bibliography

BOGUE, Charles A., and SHAKEEL, G. Sabir. "Labour market Experiences of Immigrants in Canada." Toronto: Ministry of Labour, 1979. (Unpublished)

This study describes the experiences of recent immigrants in the Canadian labour market. A non-random sample of 2,025 was drawn which contained equal numbers of immigrants from Caribbean, East Indian, Italian, Chinese, Portuguese and Greek backgrounds who had moved to Metropolitan Toronto between 1967 and 1977 and who described themselves as the principal wage earner in their household. Respondents were obtained by interviewing at every second house in ethnically distinct areas. The research instrument consisted of a detailed interview questionnaire supplemented by later telephone interviews with original respondents. Data are presented in the form of simple percentages and distributions. The results are compared with Statistics Canada Census data where possible

Data are presented for a variety of variables, including pre-migration occupation and schooling; income level in Canada; intended and actual occupation in Canada; factors associated with obtaining, retaining and changing jobs; reason for migrating and general attitudes towards Canada; perceived reasons for not working in one's intended occupation; the extent of discrimination and prejudice in the work world; and the home environment.

The major findings are as follows:

- Over 40 percent of the respondents had a particular job in mind before immigrating; this proportion was highest among East Indians and lowest among Italians and Portuguese
- Of the sample, 17.8 percent had jobs as managers, administrators, scientists, and professionals before immigrating. Slightly less (15.5 percent) held these kinds of jobs in Canada
- A lack of Canadian experience was cited most often as the reason for not working in one's intended occupation

- Most respondents concentrated in machinery and fabrication, clerical, and service occupations. However, Italian and Portuguese respondents were heavily represented in construction. Over 10 percent of the Caribbean respondents were in professional occupations, and 14.7 percent of the East Indian respondents were in the natural and social sciences
- The reasons given most frequently for changing jobs were to get better salaries, to improve oneself, and to get better working conditions
- The perception of prejudice was high. Over 40 percent felt that an accent and a lack of Canadian experience limited job opportunities, yet 42 percent felt that success would come with hard work
- The visible minority respondents most frequently objected to poor pay and working conditions, whereas Greek respondents were particularly concerned with racial prejudice.

BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR THE CITY OF NORTH YORK. White Paper: Race and Ethnic Relations. December, 1981.

In response to the change in the population of the schools and the recent racial incidents in Toronto and elsewhere, a task force was established by the Director of Education comprising members of the North York Board of Education and the Advisory Sub-Committee of the Mayor's Committee on Community, Race, and Ethnic Relations. The draft report was circulated among thirty unions, federations, associations, and administrative departments, which provided feedback and recommendations. The final report recommends values and procedures that will enable the North York Board of Education to develop and enhance racial harmony among staff and students and within the community.

Concerning curriculum, the White Paper recommended that the Board develop programs which allow children to develop positive attitudes towards racial and religious diversity and cultural heritage and that the essential criterion for the selection of textbooks, audio-visuals, and other material be the absence of stereotyping based on race, colour, religion, or ancestry. It strongly supported multicultural programs for secondary students but it rejected the formation of exclusive ethnic clubs. It recommended that conferences on multiculturalism, exchange programs, language courses and after-hours Black studies programs be initiated or extended. It also recommended procedures to enhance staff sensitivity and skills in dealing with people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, including various in-service training and orientation programs. To improve relations with the community it suggested that principals develop mechanisms for increasing communication links between the school and the community. Principals are to refuse to admit into the school any person, group, or association whose interest is to preach discrimination. In addition, steps are to be taken to report and check all racial incidents that occur within the schools, including the disciplining of students and the dismissal of employees.

BRETON, R., ISAJIW, W., KALBACH, W., and REITZ, J. Ethnic Pluralism in an Urban Setting: Conceptual and Technical Overview of a Research Project. Toronto Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1981.

This paper provides background information on the Ethnic Pluralism Project carried out in Toronto. It describes the organization of the study into four sub-projects, outlines the objectives of each, and describes the essential features of the sample design and the interview schedule. The four sub-projects are:

(a) Ethnicity and Occupational Opportunitites. This sub-project examines inequalitites in allocation of occupational opportunitites and rewards among ethnic groups. It describes such inequalities among eight ethnic-origin groups, tests several theories of job reward allocation among minority groups, and uses these theories to explain the allocation of job rewards in Toronto. The concept of ethnic group control of jobs is used as a framework for the analysis of the overall allocation of job rewards.

(b) Ethnic residential segregation. The main objectives of this sub-project are to describe the extent and pattern of ethnic residential segregation, to determine the relative significance of ethnic origin as a factor, and to analyze the relationship between various indicators of segregation and ethnic identity and connectedness.

(c) Variations in corporate action among ethnic communiites. This sub-project describes variations in the extent and type of corporate action among ethnic collectivities and accounts for the variations observed through an analysis at the group and individual levels.

(d) Ethnic identity retention. This sub-project studies the retention of ethnic identity by consecutive generations in relation to the retention of other aspects of ethnicity.

The results of this study come from a survey of 2,338 Toronto respondents who were interviewed between 1978 and 1979. The sample was restricted to persons aged 18 to 65 who were either working or studying and who were from one of eight minority groups (Chinese, German, Italian, Jewish, Portuguese, Ukranian, West Indian, and first- and second-generation English) and a majority Canadian group (third-generation persons of English, Scottish, or Irish origins). Each project seeks to make descriptive statements and conduct multivariate analysis within groups.

BRETON, R. The Ethnic Community as a Resource in Relation to Group Problems: Perceptions and Attitudes. Research Paper No. 122, Toronto Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1981.

This essay examines aspects of ethnic group public opinion. Besides exploring theoretical issues it describes a number of findings on the perception of the problems of social acceptance, discrimination, and cultural maintenance among members of ethnic groups; their views on the socio-political organization of their communitites; and their attitudes towards the use of community organizational resources to deal with certain problems when they are encountered. The results came from a survey of a majority Canadian group and eight ethnic minorities in Toronto. Questionnaire interviews were conducted with 2,338 respondents who were between the ages of 18 and 65 and who were either active in the labour market or students.

The rank order of groups with respect to experiencing problems (those most likely first) is: non-European visible minorities (Chinese and West Indians), Jews, Italians, Portuguese, Ukranians, Germans, and majority Canadians. Chinese and West Indian groups showed similar patterns of experiences and perceptions: frequent reports of discrimination against individuals and the group as a whole, a weak community organizational structure that lacks the requisites for effective group action, a leadership that is perceived to be poorly tied to institutional elites, and little propensity to favour the use of community organizations to deal with problems. Jews are the most likely to perceive problems in maintaining their culture and are most likely to favour the use of community resources. Portuguese and Italians are the most likely to report immigration laws as problems, and they moderately favour the use of community organizations. Germans and Ukranians are the least likely to perceive problems in social acceptance and discrimination. The loss of their culture is perceived as the greatest threat.

Canadian Civil Liberties Association to Mayor David Crombie. September 26, 1975.

In response to increased concern about the growth of inter-racial tensions in Toronto the Canadian Civil Liberties Association carried out an investigation to gauge the extent of minority-group employment in a public-sector occupation.

All 27 fire stations within the jurisdiction of the City of Toronto were contacted by telephone by members of the C.C.L.A. Inquiries were made about arranging visits for multi-racial groups of underprivileged children. In order to ascertain the level of minority-group employment the C.C.L.A. asked that such visits take place when non-white, or, more specifically, Negro, Asian, and Indian firemen were on duty.

Using this technique, informants were able to find only two non-white firemen in Toronto. Information obtained subsequently from the City's personnel department revealed that more than 1,150 firemen were employed by the City. Thus, non-whites accounted for less than 0.2 percent of of the City's firemen. This gives the appearance of discrimination, and hence discourages non-whites from seeking employment in that occupation.

Various suggestions for increasing minority-group employment are made in the letter including requesting non-white leaders to recruit suitable candidates, advertising in the non-white press, and inserting statements concerning racial equality of opporunity in general advertising. It is also suggested that organized labour and the Ontario Human Rights Commission should devote resources to the problem. By increasing minority-group employment in city departments, the letter says, the alienation of minority communitites could be avoided.

Canadian Civil Liberties Association to Ontario Human Rights Commission.
November 24, 1975.

Many job advertisements stipulate Canadian experience as a requirement for a position. Often such job requirements, while not unlawful, discourage members of ethnic minorities from applying for such jobs and thus, by allowing employers to avoid hiring those whom they regard as undesirable, have a discriminatory effect.

In 1975 the Metropolitan Toronto Chapter of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association monitored job advertisements in the Toronto press. Wherever a position stipulating Canadian experience was found, a letter was written to the advertiser asking for an explanation of why Canadian experience was required for the job.

Of the twelve cases considered, five employers declared that the requirement was a mistake and would not be repeated, and seven gave either inadequate replies or none at all. One of these stated that Canadian experience was necessary to avoid hiring another trainee; another said it would eliminate applications from those unfamiliar with the appropriate institutional setting.

The C.C.L.A. recommended that the Ontario Human Rights Commission request a voluntary limitation of this sort of advertising and monitor all advertisements that call for Canadian experience. If these measures prove inadquate, the C.C.L.A. suggests that more formal measures to investigate and enforce matters relating to discrimination in job advertising should be taken.

Canadian Civil Liberties Association to Ontario Human Rights Commission. December 24, 1975.

Employers seeking to violate the Ontario Human Rights Code by discriminating in employment may seek to protect themselves by persuading placement agencies to screen out unwanted minority groups. In order to evalute the effectiveness of a voluntary agreement worked out earlier between the Ontario Human Rights Commission and employment agencies to check discriminatory practices, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association undertook a brief review of placement agencies' propensity to screen out minority groups for employers.

Fifteen randomly selected agencies were called by telephone. The caller pretended to be a representative of an American firm that hoped to locate in Toronto and whose personnel director was racially prejudiced. Agencies were asked if they would be prepared to screen out all non-white applicants for interviews. Eleven of the fifteen agencies said they would be willing to screen out non-whites and two expressed mild disapproval but did not refuse. Only two refused outright to discriminate. Many agencies indicated that this was not an unusual request and that a "Canadian experience" requirement was an effective way to avoid hiring non-whites. Some agencies expressed overt racist and discriminatory attitudes.

Various recommendations are made to the O.H.R.C. in this letter: The Commission should arrange meetings with employment agencies and conduct training seminars; it should periodically review referral and application forms; and it should undertake a periodic review of agencies' files to determine whether there is a trend towards refusing to refer non-whites.

Canadian Civil Liberties Association to Canadian Human Rights Commission.
January 24, 1979.

This letter reports on several surveys conducted by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association regarding the employment of the native peoples in various communitites in Ontario that have large native populations

In 1978 a survey of 14 retail businesses, each employing more than five persons, was conducted in Kenora. Only two of 349 jobs involved were held by native persons, one of whom worked part-time. In the five banks surveyed not a single native person was found among 67 employees. Since banks offer high-profile jobs, the employment of native persons by banks in other communities was investigated.

Twenty banks in the Sault Ste. Marie area employing 368 full-time and 20 part-time employees were surveyed. Only one of the more than 380 positions involved was held by a native person. In Fort Francis, where an estimated 4,000 native people live, only one position out of 74 full- and part-time bank jobs was found to be held by a native persons.

The C.C.L.A. recommends various measures for increasing applications by and the hiring of the native peoples in retail and banking businesses. The Canadian Human Rights Commission is urged to ascertain the extent of native employment in areas that have large native populations and to launch a program of action. They also recommend that personnel managers be encouraged to visit reserves and that native leaders be urged to become involved in the recruitment process. They also propose that programs to expand on-the-job training be considered by the relevant federal and provincial bodies.

CHANDRA, Kanur V. Racial Discrimination in Canada: Asian Minorities. San Francisco, California: R & E Associates, 1973.

This study is based on three sets of interviews conducted in Montreal in 1971. The first set was administered to 180 randomly selected respondents who are visible minority members consisting of East Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshins. Questions given to this sample focused on personal experiences in the area of employment, housing and the services.

The second set of respondents, the so-called "political discriminators", consisted of white officials and employers in the above mentioned fields. The author attempted to capture the perceptions by whites of visible minority groups.

Finally, the study sought to verify independently the authenticity of information supplied by visible minorities regarding personal experiences and discrimination.

The author noted that whites' differential treatment of visible minorities fell along three major dimensions. First, there were those who totally opposed the presence of visible minorities in Canadian society without giving any reasons. Second, language problems, dishonesty, lack of Canadian experience and even weak physique (presumably because Indians are vegetarians) were cited as justifications for discrimination. Third, there were those who totally denied the existence of discrimination against visible minorities.

Of particular interst is the finding that white employers expressed doubts about the qualifications of visible minorities because, it was claimed, they hold foreign degrees. However, the author demonstrates that there were those visible minorities who earned their advanced degree in the West, yet they suffered similar discrimination.

When visible minorities were hired, it was either because their number remained relatively small compared to whites, or whites were not available to fill certain positions.

A consistent finding by the author was that visible minorities were excluded from positions that required coming into contact with the public such as salesmen, bank tellers and supervisors.

The overall conclusion of the study is that racial discrimination exists widely in Canada, and that if the situation were to continue visible minorities are destined to form their own "social class" with all its consequent repercussions and tensions as far as Canada is concerned.

FERNANDEZ, JOHN P. Racism and Sexism in Corporate Life. Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath & Co. Books, 1981.

This book presents the results of a U.S. study to determine (a) whether minorities and women need special training to become effective managers, (b) the effect of employment policies on the use of managers, and (c) the importance of the perceived atmosphere in which managers work. The emphasis is on the attitudes and perceptions of "new breed" managers who express concern with non-material rewards. A total of 4,202 managers stratified by race, sex, and managerial level, were randomly selected from ten large American companies that had been active in equal-opportunity employment policies. Two-thirds of the respondents were male, and whites accounted for half of all the respondents. Substantial minorities of Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and native Americans were also included. Data were collected from 1976 to 1978 through self-administered questionnaires with open- and closed-ended questions. Extensive quantitative aud qualitative information information was obtained.

A major finding was that some basic managerial needs and concerns are common to all employees regardless of age, race, and sex. Work satisfaction requires not only a job and a pay cheque but also a pleasant environment, challenging work, a rewarding career, and fair treatment. The responses of white and Black men were similar in this regard. Another finding was that substantial race and sex differences exist regarding equal opportunity and affirmative action programs and the situation and treatment of white male, minority, and female managers. Higher-level managers are likely to express stereotyped views regarding minorities. The presence of racist tendencies in their companies was reported by 52 percent of Black men and 44 percent of Black women. The opinion that minority managers are excluded from informal work groups was held by 71 percent of Black men and 59 percent of Black women, although only 20 percent to 30 percent of other minorities think this way. Large numbers of Blacks think whites are uncomfortable working with Blacks. Large percentages of Black men and women believe that minorities face serious obstacles. Over 80 percent of Black managers feel that minorities have to perform better than whites, whereas only 10 percent of whites feel that this is the case. Overall, Black men are the most pessimistic and critical group (followed by Hispanics, Asians and native Americans) whereas white men tend to be the most optimistic and least critical. Black women are the most critical of their work situation, followed by whites, Hispanic, native American and Asian women. Minority and female managers at higher levels are more rather than less critical of their situation.

Various measures are recommended to reduce racism and sexism in corporations.

HEAD, Wilson A. Adaptation of Immigrants: Perceptions of Ethnic and Racial Discrimination. Toronto: York University, 1981.

Head undertakes a largely descriptive and exploratory study to determine the degree of perception of discrimination in housing, employment, neighborhoods, and community services among West Indian, South Asian, and European immigrants. A non-random sample of 324 respondents was selected of persons who were clients of 32 community service agencies and who had lived in Metropolitan Toronto for more than a year. A 47-item interview questionnaire was developed to test for their perceptions of discrimination. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 51 community agency staff members.

The main sample consisted of 104 West Indians (mostly Jamaicans), 126 South Asians (largely Ugandan Asians), 87 Europeans (mainly from southern Europe), and seven others. In the sample 46 percent were males, 54 percent females; 74.4 percent were in the 20-39 age group; the majority were married and lived in households of three to four persons. Most respondents were employed. There was an even distribution of respondents in the semi-skilled and skilled trades and in sales and managerial positions. A large proportion (27 percent) of the respondents were in professional occupations: 20.8 percent of the West Indians, 28.3 percent of the Europeans, and 34.9 percent of the South Asians. More than half reported that their present employment was not the type of work they were seeking when they came to Canada. Of the West Indians, 36.6 percent indicated that a lack of Canadian experience was their main problem. Over 70 percent had received job promotions and very few felt that the failure to receive a promotion was due to discrimination.

Most respondents (79.3 percent) reported feeling that racial discrimination exists in Canada. Nearly 90 percent of the West Indians felt that some or a great deal of discrimination exists. A minority thought that discrimination was decreasing, and over 45 percent of the West Indians felt that it was increasing. A majority reported personally experiencing discrimination since arriving in Canada. Employment was reported as the area where discrimination occurred most frequently with 38 percent of the West Indians, 41.5 percent of the South Asians, and 60.9 percent of the Europeans reporting discrimination in this area. However, few reported discrimination to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The data revealed little difference in the perceptions of discrimination by age, sex, income level, etc. Discrimination appears to be a common experience among many individuals in all groups.

HEAD, Wilson. The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic. Toronto: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1975.

This report describes the attitudes, perceptions and opinions of a selected group of Blacks and non-Blacks about the increasing discrimination and tension between various racial groups in Toronto. Structured interviews were conducted with 210 adult Blacks drawn at random from a list of 4,000 Blacks; similar interviews were conducted with smaller groups of Black youths and non-Blacks. Unstructured interviews were conducted with Black community leaders. In all, 349 persons were interviewed.

The adult Black group was relatively young, fairly well educated, and mostly from the West Indies. A majority earned under $12,000: 29.1 percent worked in professional-technical occupations, 23.3 percent in clerical jobs, and 15.3 percent in the skilled trades.

Black respondents feel only "fairly positively" about job opportunities. Over 40 percent feel that Blacks should use existing community services. Over half the adults and 75 percent of the youths believe that the police treat Blacks unfairly. All Black respondents agree, however, that discrimination exists to some degree. Over 80 percent perceive discrimination in employment and housing, and over 60 percent see it in community agencies and commercial services. A large majority also report that other visible minorities suffer from discrimination.

A majority of Black respondents report having personally experienced discrimination. Nearly 20 percent report feeling that they have been denied a promotion because of discrimination. No action was taken in response to discrimination by 47.9 percent; only 10 percent reported the incident to the Ontario Human Rights Commission or a superior. However, respondents expressed a generally high level of satisfaction with Black-white relations. Nearly all Blacks show an interest in retaining aspects of Black culture and many favour increased migration of Blacks to Toronto.

HENRY, Frances. The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto. Toronto: Department of Anthropology, York University, 1978.

This study examines the dynamics of individual racism in Toronto. the attitudes of a random sample of 617 whites to various ethnic minority groups were investigated by means of a 100-item structured interview questionnaire. The majority of respondents were lower or middle class, married, and Canadian-born. Most religions, income levels, and political affiliations were represented.

The study describes and analyzes the extent of racism and its demographic correlates, the cognitive and affective aspects of racism, and the relations among social and psychological variables such as authoritarianism, social acceptance, and contact with minority groups. The results of the study show that 16 percent of the population can be considered extremely racist, 19 percent extremely tolerant, 35 percent inclining towards racism, and 30 percent inclining toward tolerance. Older people, non-participants in the labour force, those in low-status occupations and those who have little schooling and who report a belief in religion tend to be more racist than younger people, those with high socio-economic status, more education, and no religious beliefs. Non-Canadian-born respondents from southern and eastern Europe tend to be racist.

Authoritarianism, as measured by a modified F-scale, correlates highly with racism, whereas physical proximity to minorities in the neighborhood or the workplace does not. Social distance, as measured by the Bogardus scale, indicates that social distance increased for visible minorities. The most racist category negatively ranked Blacks, Indians, and Pakistanis in that order. Half the sample believed in negative stereotypes against visible minorities. In comparison to other countries, the Toronto data show that the level of racism is higher in Britain but lower in The Netherlands.

Various policy recommendations for reducing racism are made.

JAIN, H.D. and SLOANE, P.J. Equal Employment Issues: Race, and Sex Discrimination in the United States, Canada and Britain. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981.

This book studies aspects of race and sex discrimination in the United States, Canada and Britain. It assesses the effectiveness of various affirmative-action programs in reducing discrimination and analyzes in particular the significance of labour-market structure for equal-employment legislation. Using government documents, census reports, and secondary sources, it presents data for the three countries on labour-force participation, unemployment rates, occupation distribution, and income levels by age and sex. It also notes changes in the position of Blacks and women over time. The study reviews various theories of labour-market discrimination, then outlines three types of labour markets. These are open markets, which are unstructured, subject to competition, and marked by a lack of skills, etc.; craft markets, which are horizontally structured by occupational licensing; and enterprise markets, which are firm-specific vertical promotion ladders. Barriers to entry into internal labour markets, such as screening (age, sex, race), credentialism, tests, interviews, etc., are noted, as well as barriers to promotion such as marital status.

The study investigates the effectiveness of legislation in North America and Britain in reducing discrimination in employment and pay and in controlling unions with respect to minorities, and it discusses national variations in prohibited grounds for discriminiation, methods of enforcement, the use of the courts, and the role of the unions. It concludes that legal remedies are necessary but not sufficient tools for eliminating institutional discrimination in employment; on a macro-level, earning differentials between majority and minority workers have not unambiguously and substantially improved as a consequence of legislation. It also finds that growth in firm size leads to the development of internal labour markets, which may strengthen barriers to entry and promotion within firms, thus relegating minority workers to the secondary sector of dual labour markets. Divisions within the labour force cannot be changed easily in the short turn, since labour markets are influenced by wider social and economic forces. Policies directed towards labour markets alone are thus likely to prove inadequate in solving problems of minority workers.

JAIN, H.C. Race and Sex Discrimination in Employment in Canada: Theories, Evidence and Policies. Working Paper No. 181, Hamilton: McMaster University, Faculty of Business, 19 .

This paper examines theoretically and empirically various aspects of race and sex discrimination in employment. The object is to see how both the existence of discrimination and the proposed remedies for it have been defined in the internal and external labour markets.

The paper is divided into several parts. First, it examines theoretical approaches to discrimination in employment. Discrimination can be seen as a consequence of the operation of internal labour markets where enterprises fail to hire workers of equal ability because of barriers such as screening devices, credentialism, employment tests, etc., or where disadvantaged groups fail to advance because of job stereotypes, employee organizations, etc. The dual labour-market approach argues that mobility barriers prevent the movement of workers from the secondary to the primary labour market. The human-capital approach suggests not only that structural factors place some groups at a disadvantage, but that minority workers lack education and training.

In order to study the incidence of discrimination in employment, 74 cases of discrimination handled by various human rights commissions in Canada were analyzed. Cases under conciliation or investigation were excluded. Decisions of boards of inquiry have prohibited pre-employment barriers such as height and weight requirements, sex-stereotyped interview questions, place of origin, etc.; and they have rejected occupational-qualification exemptions in respect of sex discrimination. Of the cases heard by boards, 73 percent decided that discrimination was involved, mainly sex discrimination. Of these cases 40 percent were in community, business and personal services; trade, manufactuing, and public administration were the next most frequent sectors. Complainants were predominantly white-collar workers. The most frequent remedy ordered was compensation for lost wages.

The paper discusses various policy implications, including the development of human-resource policies such as placement activities, worker counselling, upgrading by education and training, and equal-opportunity and affirmative-action programs to assist minority workers.

JAIN, H.C. and SLOANE, P.J. Race, Sex and Minority Group Discrimination Legislation in North America and Britain. Working Paper No. 144, Hamilton: McMaster University, Faculty of Business, 978.

This paper discusses aspects of employment discrimination experienced by racial, sex, and minority groups. It undertakes a comparative analysis of legislation against discrimination in employment in Canada, the U.S.A. and Britain, and focuses on the use and effectiveness of the law in reducing discrimination. The main data sources consist of official documents and legislation pertaining to employment discrimination and relevant court cases. The study argues that other approaches, besides the law, including economic policies and tax systems, can be used to reduce discrimination. It also poses the question of whether the same legal apparatus is appropriate for all forms of discrimination.

In the U.S.A. the main prohibited grounds for discrimination in employment are race, colour, sex, religion, national origin, and age; the law covers hiring, firing, promotion, transfer, compensation, and training. In Canada the prohibited grounds include race, religion, colour, nationality, age, and sex; here the rules apply to employers, employment agencies, trade unions, and, in some jurisdictions, self-governing professions. In Britain discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, marital status, colour, nationality, and ethnic origin is prohibited.

The study also discusses national variations in the legal definition of discrimination and in the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws. In Canada the court cases and massive conciliation agreements typical of the U.S.A. are rare. Britain and Canada are similar in that most complaints are settled at the conciliation stage, but they are different in that human rights officers have far greater power in Canada than in Britain.

The effect of affirmative-action programs and positive discrimination is also discussed. In each country legislation permits positive discrimination in some jurisdictions and for some groups, but it is most highly developed in the U.S.A., where at least one-third of the workforce is employed by enterprises subject to affirmative-action legislation.

The study concludes that legal remedies are necessary but not sufficient tools to eliminate institutional discrimination in employment because they operate on the demand side rather than the supply side of the labour market. It also notes that it is doubtful whether the same laws and enforcement agencies can deal with different forms of discrimination. It concludes as well that the voluntary programs of positive discrimination in Canada and Britain are preferable to the U.S. affirmative action programs.

KLUEGEL, JR. "The Causes and Costs of Racial·Exclusion from Job Authority," American Sociological Review, Vol. 43, 1978, pp.285-301.

The purpose of the study is to determine the organizational authority level of Blacks compared to white respondents. A questionnaire was administered to a sample of male participants consisting of 1,088 whites and 625 Blacks.

In addition to items measuring the socio-economic status of the respondents and organizational characteristics of place of employment and patterns of employment, the author attempted to assess the level of authority position measured in terms of whether or not the respondent held a supervisory role.

The author concluded by noting that Blacks occupied much lower authority positions than whites, a finding which is reflected in a lower income among Blacks compared to whites.

MUSZYNSKI, L. and REITZ, J. Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Employment. Working Paper No. 5, Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, 1982.

This report investigates aspects of racial and ethnic discrimination in employment in Metropolitan Toronto. It also examines the process of employment, recruitment, and promotion for this discriminatory potential and explores policy options for dealing with this problem.

Recent immigration to Canada has been largely that by visible minorities from the Third World. It is estimated that Toronto's visible minority population ranges from 12-20 percent of the total, and includes about 230,000 Blacks, 100,000 South Asians, 100-150,000 Chinese, and 25,000 native Indians.

Various kinds of evidence of discrimination against ethnic and racial minorities in employment are considered, including data drawn from statistical and census surveys, caseloads of human rights commissions, and attitudinal surveys. Social data suggest that an upward pattern of mobility is not typical of the visible minorities and that the incidence of poverty and unemployment is higher among these groups. Chinese men under-earn by $500 per year and West Indian men by $2,400 in comparison with majority Canadians. The inequalities experienced by women are even greater; Chinese and West Indian women under-earn by $3,500 and $3,800, respectively. Over 40 percent of all cases handled by the Ontario Human Rights Commission concerned racial or ethnic discrimination in employment, and large percentages of Chinese and West Indians report having experienced by women are even greater; Chinese and West Indian women under-earn by $3,500 and $3,800, respectively. Over 40 percent of all cases handled by the Ontario Human Rights Commission concerned racial or ethnic discrimination in employment, and large percentages of Chinese and West Indians report having experienced such discrimination. The data therefore suggest that the visible minorities are experiencing widespread discrimination in the job market.

Often the procedures used to recruit, screen, select, hire, promote, and discharge workers have the unintended effect of discriminating against racial and ethnic groups. Employment agencies and "gatekeepers" can actively screen out minority applicants. The excessive use of credentialism, English fluency, form-filling, selection tests, and interviews, etc., can also lead to discrimination and promotions can be affected by training and seniority provisions.

Simply removing the barriers to the employment of minorities is insufficient. Additional affirmative action at the federal and provincial levels is required, as well as a shift from permissive to prescriptive legislation. The report concludes that further economic decline and rising unemployment will intensify racism and discriminatory employment practices.

QUINN, R.P., TABER, J.H., and GORDON, L.K. The Decision to Discriminate. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1968.

This study of discrimination and executive selection investigates the conditions under which a corporate manager will make a personnel decision that is non-ability oriented, particularly with regard to the hiring and promotion of Jews.

A non-random sample of 139 managers was drawn from three large firms in the Cleveland-Akron area. The respondents, who occupied a variety of functional positions in sales, production, research, etc., all had responsibility for hiring and promotion decision. The research instrument consisted of a detailed interview questionnaire conducted at work, supplemented with self-administered qustionnaires. One hundred thirty five completed interviews were obtained. In addition, seven open-ended interviews were conducted.

The intention to discriminate against Jews was found to be related to a variety of organizational, interpersonal, and personality factors. Discrimination was directly related to the manager's perception that his company was undermining equal-opportunity policies, exposure to third-party pressures, the anticipated reaction from subordinates, and anti-Semitic attitudes and stereotypes. Discrimination was especially likely when anti-Semitic managers were exposed to third-party pressure, were unclear about company personnel policies, and perceived the company to be undermining equal-opportunity policies. However, discrimination was not found to be related to the manager's understanding of his company's equal-opportunity policies, his level in the corporate hierarchy, or his functional assignment. The analysis of the general non-ability data yielded a multiple correlation of 0.68 between non-ability orientations and five predictor variables.

Various recommendations for action were also outlined.

RAMCHARAN, Subhas. "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1976.

Two hundred and ninety West Indian respondents were interviewed. Using quota sampling techniques, the author attempted to construct a sample for the purpose of the study which corresponded to the adult West Indian population in Canada.

The author devised a "satisfaction with life in Canada" index which measured patterns of mobility, skill utilization, job satisfaction, and fullfilment of occupational aspirations.

Racial background and socio-economic status figured prominently in assessing the level of satisfaction among respondents. West Indian respondents experienced little upward occupational mobility, compared to whites. Income differences and mobility discrepancy between Blacks and whites were present, even when the author controlled for background and length of residence. The author concluded that incidences of discrimination among West Indians in employment remained high; this finding was not affected by West Indian colour gradations.

REITZ, J., CALZAVARA, L., and DASKO, D. Ethnic Inequality and Segregation in Jobs. Research Paper No. 123, Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1981.

This paper describes ethnic job inequality and segregation for men and women in the Metropolitan Toronto Labour force. The research examines the structures of ethnic-group control over the allocation of occupational rewards, particularly the control that ethnic groups experience over gatekeeping positions. The data sources are a study of ethnic-group control of jobs, including a 1979 survey representing the majority Canadian group and eight ethnic minorities, and 1971 census data. Structured interviews were held with 1,879 respondents drawn from a two-stage cluster and snowball sample. Respondents were all active members of the labour force between the ages of 18 and 65; students were excluded. Three occupational rewards were considered: job status, income, and job security. The effects of four job qualifications are analyzed: years and type of education, years of work experience, and knowledge of English. Job segregation in occupations and in organizational work settings is analyzed by occupational reward level and by generation.

The findings suggest that ethnic job segregation is important in the allocation of job rewards. Italians, Portuguese, and West Indians are segregated in occupations and work settings with low job status and incomes. However, Italian men earn as much overall as majority Canadians because they are concentrated in highly paid occupations. West Indian men are concentrated in some specific high-status occupations, but this does not alter their overall income situation significantly. West Indians earn lower incomes than would be expected on the basis of their education and job status, and they have lower job status and incomes than would be expected on the basis of their job qualifications. The paper suggests that for West Indian occupations gatekeeping functions are still in the hands of majority Canadians. Two groups, Jews and Chinese, are highly educated and have high-status jobs. Ukranians and Germans are the only ethnic majority groups to earn high incomes without relying on a significant degree of job segregation.

The study concludes that protected labour markets are an important factor in understanding the allocation of job status and income among ethnic groups.

SHEPARD, William and LEVIN, S.G. "Managerial Discrimination in Large Firms," Review of Economic Statistics. Vol. 55, 1973, pp.412-22.

This study is based on 200 large American firms and industrial enterprises covering a time period from 1966 to 1970. Firms were chosen on the basis of their (1) average market share, (2) size of assets, and (3) advertising intensity.

In comparing the experience of male and female Blacks to corresponding white respondents in managerial positions, the author discovered that the positions of Blacks in large firms is relatively better than that in small firms. However, in focusing on large firms and controlling for education, it was concluded that male and female Blacks suffered from discriminatory practices affecting their rise to managerial positions compared to the whites in the sample.

SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO. Unemployment in Toronto: Hidden and Real. Working Paper No. 1, Toronto: 1980.

This paper describes aspects of unemployment in the Toronto area. Conventional definitions and measures of unemployment are analyzed, and the official unemployment statistics are found to be inadequate because they include only those conducting an active job search and exclude those in involuntary part-time employment.

The rate of unemployment in Toronto is described using a variety of data sources, including census, Statistics Canada, and Metro Toronto Social Planning Council material. The unemployment rate in Toronto in 1978 is estimated to have been 6.2 percent. Various groups are found to exhibit disproportionately high levels of unemployment, including residents of the City of Toronto (7.2 percent), young people between the ages of 15 and 24 (11 percent), women (6.9 percent), visible minorities such as Indo-Pakistanis (9 percent for males, 15 percent for females), Chinese (8 percent), and those seeking unskilled blue-collar jobs. The unemployment rate for males in managerial and administrative occupations was less than 2 percent.

The study describes important social trends that affect the composition of the labour force. Married women continue to enter the labour force in large numbers, leading to sex-segregated job ghettos in clerical, sales, and service work. Women work because one household income is no longer sufficient. There has also been an increase in the number of single-parent families in which the parent is prevented from entering the labour force because of the inadequate provision of services, especially day-care.

The study presents empirical evidence on hidden unemployment at the national and local levels. Data drawn from a 1978 labour-force survey show that large numbers of persons were available outside the official labour force and wanted to work. Hidden unemployment appears to be concentated among teenagers, especially males, women between the ages of 25 and 35, and older persons. By applying the results of the national survey to Toronto it was estimated that the real rate of unemployment rose to 9.6 percent from an official rate of 5 percent when data on the underemployed were added. The study concludes that conventional measures of unemployment are inadequate for an analysis of unemployment in Toronto.

TORONTO, City of. Equal Opportunity Employment Utilization Study. Toronto: (circa, 1982)

This report investigates the employment opportunities for visible minorities in Metropolitan Toronto. It is divided into two parts. The first part presents the results of an internal survey of visible minority group employees of the City of Toronto; the second provides data on the position of minorities in the wider community. Efforts to compare the two groups effectively proved difficult because of the lack of data.

The survey of the City's workforce found that 6.7 percent (394 out of a total of 5,858) of its employees belonged to a visible minority group; visible minority groups were defined as those from Black, Asian, South Asian, Southeast Asian, Canadian Indian, Metis, and Inuit backgrounds. Visible-minority-group members were most often employed in clerical jobs (13.5 percent) and in professional managerial, and technical jobs (12.2 percent). The level of minorities does not appear to reflect the size of the visible minority population as a whole, which has been estimated at 15 - 20 percent of the City's population.

Data on the employment of minorities in the wider community are drawn from social surveys, government reports, school board surveys, and community organizations. It is not possible to say if visible-minority-group participation in the workforce is proportional to their share of total population, but the data suggest that members of these groups are underemployed. Employment difficulties were reported most often by people born in India, followed by those from Latin America and the West Indies. The main difficulties were those of employers requiring Canadian experience and the refusal to recognize non-Canadian work experience and qualifications. While 25 percent of these immigrants have professional or technical training, this training does not guarantee employment in the area of their expertise. Female members of visible minorities experienced greater difficulties than male members in obtaining employment; they must work long hours at low wages, they must hold more than one job, and they do not have Canadian experience. The unemployment rates among women in each group were higher than among their male counterparts. The report also makes various criticisms of the categories used to identify visible minorities and of the sexist bias in research data.

UBALE, B. Equal Opportunity and Public Policy. Toronto: The South Asian Canadian Community, 1978.

This report was prepared in 1977 at the request of the Attorney General of Ontario in response to rising racial tensions in Toronto. Its main object is to express the concerns of the South-Asian Canadian Community regarding racial violence and discrimination and to indicate the nature of the action that needs to be taken to allow the South-Asian community to take its rightful place in the Canadian mosaic. The report presents a number of case studies of the kinds of experiences suffered by South-Asian Canadians. These are illustrative rather than exhaustive, and are drawn from a variety of sources, including newspapers, reports by victims, and ethnic community association.

Dr. Ubale found racial violence to be widespread, diversified, and increasing and it touched all aspects of the lives of South-Asian Canadians. Racial attacks were carried out by people of all ages and varying socio-economic backgrounds, and complaints against the police were numerous. Criticism was levelled against educational institutions in particular because of their failure to impart knowledge about South-Asian culture and because of the continuous subjection of students to racial slurs, etc.

The evidence suggests that South-Asian Canadians suffer great hardships and more obstacles to securing suitable employment than their white counterparts. Inflated or artificial educational requirements and the need for Canadian experience were the main means of discrimination. Professionals and tradesmen encountered serious problems in carrying on their vocations. Licensing legislation and union practices were found to restrict the utilization of South-Asian's skills in the labour market. Almost exclusively, only qualifications acquired through Canadian educational and apprenticeship institutions were recognized. The report noted that it is usually very difficult for immigrants to prepare for tests administered by professional bodies. Moreover, the federal government, by making citizenship a requirement for employment, itself engages in discriminatory practices. Similar problems are noted at the provincial level. Evidence of discrimination in university teaching was also noted. The report recommends various policy measures to reduce discriminatory practices among the police, educational institutions, governments, trade unions, professional bodies, and the mass media.

UJIMOTO, K.V., and HIRABAYASHI, G. (eds.). Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada. Toronto. Butterworths, 1980.

This book consists of a series of papers on Asian immigrant reaction and contributions to Canadian society which were originally presented to the Canadian Asian Studies Association in 1977 and 1978. The papers consider the experiences of several ethnic groups in Canada, including the Chinese, the Vietnamese, the Koreans, the Pakistanis, the East Indians, and the Filipinos. A variety of approaches are used, including comparative, historical, and empirical methods. A few papers present quantitative data derived from census reports as well as from attitudinal surveys. Some papers attempt to draw out the implications of the experiences of the Asian minorities for the theory of ethnic-group relations

One group of papers deals with "official" reactions by the host community to Asian immigration. Contributions by Bhatti, Ray, Roy, and Sunahara deal with the discriminatory attitudes of Anglo-Canadians. Papers by Buchignani, Groberman, and Indra describe the economic basis of immigration policy. Several contributors examine role-perceptions and self-perceptions. Naidoo compares the aspirations of East-Indian and Anglo-Saxon women. Kim compares the development of new identities among Korean immigrants with those of a group of "host" Canadians.

Of particular interest is the paper by Li, which compares the Chinese and the Japanese in Canada with respect to income achievement and adaptive capacity. Using Canadian census data, Li tested the hypothesis that income disparity between the Japanese and the Chinese is a result of differences in adaptive capacity. The data showed that there was almost a $2,000 disparity in gross income before other variables were taken into account. However, when nativity, sex, age, and education were introduced into the regression, the income gap between the two groups was no longer statistically significant. No direct effect of cultural adaptability on income achievement was established. Li therefore concluded that the empirical evidence did not support the theory that income differentials were a function of differential cultural adaptability.

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Appendix IV:
The Interview Questionnaire

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Queen's University)

Final Version
1/3/82

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : ________

(For office use only)

BIOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS:

1. Address of the Respondent:

1 Toronto
2 Hamilton
3 Ottawa
4 Kingston
5 London
6 All others (specify) ________________

2. How long have you lived in this particular city?

________ Years and ________ Months

3. What country were you born in?

Country ____________________

4. If born "outside of Canada" :

In what year did you come to Canada?

Year ________

5. How does life in Canada compare with what you thought it would be like? Is is better, about the same, or worse than you expected?

1 Better
2 About the same
3 Worse
4 Mixed Feelings
5 No answer
6 Not applicable

6. Sex of Respondent :

1 Male
2 Female

7. How old were you on your last birthday?

Age ________

8. What is your present marital status?

1 Single
2 Married
3 Other (specify) ________________

9. If "married" :

To what ethnic or cultural group does your husband/wife belong?

1 Chinese
2 English/Irish/Scottish
3 French
4 German
5 Greek
6 Hungarian
7 East Indian
8 Italian
9 Japanese
10 Jewish
11 Netherlands (Dutch)
12 Pakistani
13 Polish
14 Portuguese
15 Ukranian
16 West Indian
17 Other (specify) ________________

10. To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors belong on coming to this continent?

1 Chinese
2 English/Irish/Scottish
3 French
4 German
5 Greek
6 Hungarian
7 East Indian
8 Italian
9 Japanese
10 Jewish
11 Netherlands (Dutch)
12 Pakistani
13 Polish
14 Portuguese
15 Ukranian
16 West Indian
17 Other (specify) ________________

11. What is your religion?

Religion ________________________

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : ______ (For office use only)

BIOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS:

12. Indicate the number of languages in which you are proficient. For each language, evaluate your reading, writing and speaking proficiency as Good, Average, or Less than Average. Also, indicate for each language if it was learned during childhood.

(For each language cited, fill in one line of the chart below. For reading, writing and speaking ability, Code (1) Good (2) Average or (3) Less than Average. Place a check mark under column 'C' if respondent learned the language during childhood)

LANGUAGE	C	READING	WRITING	SPEAKING

FORMAL EDUCATION HISTORY:

13. Use the chart below to obtain the following information.

(a) What was the first university degree you obtained?
(b) From which institution did you receive this degree? (if non-Canadian institution, code country name as well as institution name)
(c) In what year did you receive this degree?
(d) What was your major or specialization at that level?
(e) Did you obtain the degree through full-time, part-time, or co-op studies?

(Repeat (a) to (e) for each subsequent university degree. For each degree cited, fill in one line of the chart below. For undergraduate specialization Code the major discipline. For M.B.A. specialization Code (1) Accounting, (2) Finance, (3) Industrial Relations, (4) Marketing and Retailing, or (5) Personnel Management. Clearly specify others. After each degree, return to the top; 2nd degree, etc.)

DEGREE	INSTITUTION	SPECIALIZATION	YEAR REC'D	FT/PT CO-OP

14. If Respondent holds a foreign (non-Canadian) degree(s):

How valuable do you think has this degree(s) been in advancing your career? ____

1 Valuable 2 Not Valuable
3 Other (specify) ______________________

15. If "Not Valuable" above :

Why do you feel the degree(s) has not been valuable in advancing your career? ____

____
____
____
____
____

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : ________

(For office use only)

FORMAL EDUCATION HISTORY: (Cont'd)

16. Have you been selected by your company to participate in any career development programmes, such as management seminars, developmental workshops or other career-oriented courses not included in your formal education (listed above)? If "Yes" indicate the type of programme, the year in which you participated, and the total length of time involved.

TYPE OF PROGRAMME	YEAR	TIME

17. What was your main reason(s) for pursuing M.B.A. studies? ______

____

____

____

18. What was your overall grade average for M.B.A. studies? Was it C+, B-, B, etc ... ______

1 C
2 C+
3 B-
4 B
5 B+
6 A-
7 A
8 A+
9 Other (specify) ______________

19. Did you receive any academic awards, scholarships or fellowships for your university studies? ______

1 Yes
2 No

If "Yes" above :

What was the name of the award? What year(s) did you receive the award? What was the approximate value of this in dollars? ______

NAME OF AWARD	YEAR HELD	TOTAL $

20. What professional associations or organizations do you hold membership credential in? What is the area or specialization for each association/organization? How long have you been a member of the organization/association?

ORGANIZATION TITLE	AREA / SPECIALIZATION	LENGTH MEMBER

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : _______

(For office use only)

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:

21. Are you presently employed? _____

1 Yes 2 No

22. If "unemployed" :

How long have you been unemployed? _____

__________ months

23. Why are you unemployed? _____

____

____

____

____

24. If "employed" :

Do you work on a full-time or part-time basis? _____

1 Full-time 2 Part-time
3 Not applicable

25. Are you self-employed?

1 Yes 2 No

26. If "self-employed" :

In what year did you first become self-employed? _____

Year _________

27. Why did you decide to become self-employed? _____

____

____

____

____

28. What is the major benefit/advantage of being self-employed? _____

____

____

____

____

Respondent Number : ________

(For office use only)

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY: (Cont'd)

29. Use the chart on the following page to obtain the following information:

(a) What was the first job you held after completing M.B.A. studies? What was the position or particular job title?

Write Job Title Under Column A.

(b) Would you classify the position as senior, middle, or junior management, or a non-management position?

Code Management Level under Column B.

1 Senior Management
2 Middle Management
3 Junior Management
4 Non-Management

(c) Which of the following industrial classifications (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A) describes the major function or activity of the company or corporation with which you were employed?

Code Industrial Classification under Column C.

1 Mining & Construction
2 Durable Goods Manufacture
3 Non-Durable Goods Manufacture
4 Transportation, Communication & Utilities
5 Wholesale Trade
6 Retail Trade
7 Business & Repair Service
8 Professional & Related
9 Public Administration
10 Finance, Insurance & Real Estate
11 Other, Specify on Chart

(d) OFFICE USE: Code Job Status as defined by Blishen-McRoberts' Scale of Socio-Economic Status.

Code S.E.S. under Column D.

(e) Which letter on this card (HAND RESPONDENT CARD B) corresponds to your starting salary or income in this position? (Personal salary before tax deductions)

A Less than $15,000
B $15,000 - $15,999
C $16,000 - $16,999
D $17,000 - $17,999
E $18,000 - $18,999
F $19,000 - $19,999
G $20,000 - $21,999
H $22,000 - $23,999
I $24,000 - $25,999
J $26,000 - $27,999
K $28,000 - $29,999
L $30,000 - $34,999
M $35,000 - $39,999
N $40,000 - $44,999
O $45,000 - $49,999
P $50,000 - $74,999
Q $75,000 - $99,999
R $100,000 - $124,999
S $125,000 - $149,999
T $150,000 Plus

(f) Did this position provide major fringe benefits such as stock options or a company car?

1 Yes
2 No

If "Yes", what are the fringe benefits?

Code Fringe Benefits under Column F.

(g) When did you start working in this position? What month and year?

Code month and year under Column G.

(h) When did you finish working in this position? What month and year?

Code month and year under Column H.

(i) Why did you finish working in this position? Were you promoted, did you leave the company, or was there another reason for terminating employment?

Code Reason under Column I.

1. Promoted in company
2 Left company on own initiative
3 Dismissed from position
4 Laid off due to market conditions
5 Other, Specify on chart

Repeat (a) to (i) for each subsequent position, including all job promotions, company or corporation changes, filling in one line on the chart for each position. Also, include one line for each period of unemployment, labelling "unemployed" under Column A, and appropriate dates under Columns G and H.

CHART TO FOLLOW —

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : ___________

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY CHART

"A"	"B"	"C"	"D"	"E"	"F"	"G"	"H"	"I"
POSITION OR TITLE	MANAGEMENT LEVEL	INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION	SES (Office Use)	SALARY/ INCOME	FRINGE BENEFITS	START Mo/Yr	FINISH Mo/Yr	WHY TERMINATED EMPLOYMENT

BE SURE TO CODE PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT:

Specify "Unemployed" under POSITION and duration of unemployment under START and FINISH

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : ________

(For office use only)

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY: (Cont'd)

30. Consider the following list of job search methods. Indicate the extent to which each method was used in searching for employment in your present job. Was each method frequently used, somewhat used, or not used at all?

METHOD OF SEARCH	FREQ USED	SOME WHAT USED	NOT USED	DON'T KNOW
University Placement Office				
Private Employment Agency				
Newspaper Ads				
Personal Contacts, Friends				
Family or Relatives				
Other				

31. If "Salaried Employee", ask :

How did you find your present job? Indicate if more than one method was used. ______

1 University Placement Office
2 Private Employment Agency
3 Newspaper ads
4 Personal Contacts, Friends
5 Family or Relatives
6 Other ____________________

(Questions 32 - 35 may not apply to part-time M.B.A. graduates or those who are self-employed.)

32. If Respondent searched for job after M.B.A.:

How many job applications did you submit in total after completing M.B.A. studies? ______

Applications ________

33. How many job interviews were obtained through the Career Planning and Placement Centre on your university campus? ______

Interviews ________

34. Upon completing studies for your M.B.A., how many job offers did you receive from different companies? ______

Offers ________

35. How many job offers were obtained through the Career Planning and Placement Centre on your university campus? ______

Offers ________

36. How important do you feel each item listed below is in terms of securing employment? Would you say it is very important, important, not very important, or not at all important?

(Place a check mark under appropriate column for each item: V.I.: Very Important, IMP: Important, N.V.I.: Not Very Important, NOT I: Not at all Important)

ITEM	V.I.	IMP.	N.V.I.	NOT I
University				
Grades				
Specialization				
References				
Interviews				
Other				

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : _______

(For office use only)

RELATIONSHIP : EDUCATION-EMPLOYMENT:

37. Considering your current job, does it fully utilize, under-utilize or over-utilize your overall qualifications?

1 Over-Utilize
2 Under-Utilize
3 Fully Utilize

38. If "Over-Utilize" or "Under-Utilize" :

Why do you feel this way?

____

____

____

39. Is your present position temporary in nature, in that it is a short term training post, leading to a higher level, more secure position with the company? (Does not apply to self-employed)

1 Yes
2 No
3 Other

JOB RELATED FACTORS:

Job Authority Level:

40. Please answer "Yes" or "No" to the following set of questions. (Use DA: Does Not Apply where appropriate for self-employed)

	YES	NO	DA
(a) Do you have authority to hire or fire others?			
(b) Do you influence or set the rate of pay received by others?			
(c) Does someone else set or influence your rate or amount of pay?			
(d) Do you supervise the work of others?			
(e) Does someone else supervise your work?			

Aspirations, Expectations and Mobility: (Questions 41 - 48 do not apply to self-employed)

41. How rapidly have you progressed in this company?

1 More rapidly than expected
2 As rapidly as expected
3 Rapidly at first, but then more slowly
4 Slowly at first, but then more rapidly
5 Have not been with the company long enough to answer
6 Not applicable (ie: self-employed)
7 Other (specify) _______________

42. Have you ever applied for a promotion to a higher position in your present job?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Not applicable

43. If "No" to above :

Why have you not applied for promotion?

1 Not interested in promotion
2 Not qualified
3 Not relevant or possible in this job
4 Afraid of refusal
5 Discouraged by employer
6 Discouraged by work-mates
7 Other _______________
8 Not with company long enough

44. What prospects of promotion do you feel you have now? Would you say your present prospects are very good, fair, little, or non-existent?

1 Very Good
2 Fair
3 Little
4 No Prospects

Respondent Number : ________

(For office use only)

JOB RELATED FACTORS: (Cont'd)

Aspirations, Expectations and Mobility: (Cont'd)

45. What prospects of promotion do you feel you have in the future: Would you say your future prospects are very good, fair, little, or non-existent?

1 Very Good
2 Fair
3 Little
4 No Prospects

46. Approximately when would you like to take on a position at a higher level?

________ months from present

47. Approximately how many years or months do you think it will be before you are asked to take on a position at a higher level?

________ Years and ________ Months

48. If things go according to your greatest aspirations during your stay with this company, what position in the company would you like to end up with?

Title ____

49. In your estimation, is each of the following factors an advantage, irrelevant, or an obstacle to your achieving your desired position?

(Place a check mark under appropriate column for each item: ADV: Advantage, IRRL: Irrelevant, or OBST: Obstacle)

	ADV	IRRL	OBST
(a) Accomplishment and/or achievement on the job			
(b) Work Experience			
(c) Help from a friend particularly interested in your career			
(d) Help from a relative			
(e) Technical, Professional, or Scientific knowledge			
(f) Boss (irrelevant for self-employed)			
(g) Educational level			
(h) Growth of business & economic conditions			
(i) Race or ethnic affiliation and/or identification			
(j) Political skill with the company			
(k) Sex			
(l) Age			
(m) Seniority			
(n) Marital Status			
(o) Non-English accent			

50. How frequently have you taken an assignment that required you to relocate your residence in the last five years or so?

1 Once
2 Two or more times
3 Four or more times
4 Never
5 Not applicable - with the company a short time

51. If Respondent has "Relocated" :

Has this relocation been on the basis of your own initiative, that of the Company, or both? . Who suggested the idea of relocating?

1 Respondent
2 Company
3 Mutual Initiative

52. How willing are you to relocate your residence geographically for a promotion? Would you be willing, reluctant, or unwilling?

1 Willing
2 Reluctant
3 Unwilling

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : ________

(For office use only)

JOB RELATED FACTORS: (Cont'd)

Aspirations, Expectations and Mobility: (Cont'd)

53. How eager are you to relocate your residence geographically for a promotion? Are you very eager, eager, or not eager to relocate?

1 Very Eager
2 Eager
3 Not Eager

54. To what extent are you willing to take advantage of training and/or developmental opportunities which would require you to be away from home for a period of time (one week or more) that would prepare you for a possible promotion?

1 Very Willing
2 Somewhat Willing
3 Not Very Willing
4 Not at all Willing

55. If you were to turn down a promotion that would require you to relocate your residence or to commute further, how much of a negative effect, if any, do you believe this would have on your career advancement? Would it be a strong negative effect, mild negative effect, no negative effect, or no effect at all?

1 Strong negative effect
2 Mild negative effect
3 No negative effect
4 No effect at all

56. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statement:

"Getting money and material things out of life are very important to me."

1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Ambivalent
4 Disagree
5 Strongly Disagree
6 Don't Know

EMPLOYMENT SATISFACTION:

57. Overall, are you very happy, somewhat happy, unhappy or very unhappy with the sort of work that you are doing now?

1 Very Happy
2 Somewhat Happy
3 Undecided
4 Unhappy
5 Very Unhappy
6 Other, specify ________________

58. On each of the factors listed below, would you say overall you are completely satisfied, very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied?

(Place a check mark under appropriate column for each item: CS: Completely Satisfied, VS: Very Satisfied, FS: Fairly Satisfied, NS: Not Very Satisfied, DS: Not at all Satisfied)

	CS	VS	FS	NS	DS
(a) The group you work with					
(b) The type of work you do					
(c) Your Salary					
(d) Your company in general					
(e) Your boss or immediate supervisor					

59. Now, considering job security and defining it as having a position that will last and let you plan for retirement, how would you rate your present job? Would you say it provides a great deal of security, some security, or no security at all?

1 A great Deal of Security
2 Some Security
3 No Security at all

60. How free do you feel to express your own thoughts and feelings on company matters without fear of reprisal from your immediate boss? Do you feel entirely free, fairly free, slightly free, or not at all free?

1 Entirely Free
2 Fairly Free
3 Slightly Free
4 Not at all Free

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : ________ (For office use only)

EMPLOYMENT SATISFACTION: (Cont'd)

61. Given your position in the company, how much autonomy do you have in your job? To what extent does your job permit you to decide on your own how to go about doing the work?

1 None
2 Very Little Autonomy
3 Moderate Autonomy
4 Very Much Autonomy

62. What do you like most about your job?

63. What do you like least about your job?

64. Are you considering (or have you considered) leaving the company where you are presently employed?

1 Yes
2 No

65. If "Yes" above :

Why are you/did you consider leaving?

66. Generally speaking, and comparing your job situation to other persons having the same qualifications and experience that you have, would you say your job situation is much better, somewhat better, about the same, worse, or much worse?

1 Much Better
2 Somewhat Better
3 About the Same
4 Somewhat Worse
5 Much Worse
6 Don't Know
7 Other, specify ________

67. Do you know personally of other persons in your organization who have the same qualifications and experience that you have and who are earning more money?

1 Yes
2 No

68. Do you personally know of other persons in your organization who have the same qualifications and experience that you have and who are in more senior positions?

1 Yes
2 No

PERFORMANCE EVALUATION SYSTEMS:

69. Could you tell me in a few words what your company's formal hiring and promotional policies stress?

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : ________

(For office use only)

PERFORMANCE EVALUATION SYSTEMS: (Cont'd)

70. In your opinion, how objective is the procedure (company procedure or other) your boss uses in evaluating your performance and potential? Would you say it is very objective, somewhat objective, not very objective, or not at all objective? ____

1 Very Objective
2 Somewhat Objective
3 Not Very Objective
4 Not at all Objective
5 Not Applicable

71. What was your last performance rating? ____

1 Outstanding, exceptional, or superior
2 More than Satisfactory
3 Completely Satisfactory
4 Satisfactory or Fair
5 Limited or Unsatisfactory
6 Do Not Know
7 Company does not have performance rating system

72. With reference to promotional policies at your company in general do you Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree or Strongly Disagree with the following statements.

(Place a check mark under appropriate column for each item: SA: Strongly Agree, AG: Agree, DA: Disagree, SD: Strongly Disagree)

	SA	AG	DA	SD	
(a) Promotional policies are not uniform or well-defined; therefore they are subject to a high degree of subjectivity and politics					____
(b) Overall, the policies are fair					____
(c) Current promotional policies frequently result in the promotion of unqualified managers					____
(d) Age is a major factor in promotional policies; there is discrimination favourable to older managers					____
(e) Sex is a major factor in promotional policies; men are favoured compared to women					____
(f) Sex is a major factor in promotional policies; women are favoured compared to men					____

73. All of us occasionally feel bothered by certain kinds of things in our work. Listed below are a number of examples of things that bother people. We would like you to respond to each example in terms of how frequently you are bothered by each of them. Are you bothered by them nearly all the time, rather often, sometimes, or never.

(Place a check mark under the appropriate column for each item: NA: Nearly all the time, RO: Rather often, ST: Sometimes, NV: Never)

	NA	RO	ST	NV	
(a) Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you					____
(b) Being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are					____
(c) Feeling that you have too heavy a workload, one that you can't possibly finish during an ordinary work day					____
(d) Thinking that you'll not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various people over you					____
(e) Feeling that you're not fully qualified to handle your job					____
(f) Not knowing what your superior things of you; how he evaluates your performance					____
(g) The fact that you can't get information to carry out your job					____
(h) Having to decide things that affect the lives of individuals - people that you know					____
(i) Feeling unable to influence your immediate superior's decisions and actions that affect you					____
(j) Not knowing just what the people you work with expect of you					____
(k) Thinking that the amount of work you have to do may interfere with how well it gets done					____
(l) Feeling that you have to do things on the job that are against your better judgment					____

Respondent Number : ______

(For office use only)

PERFORMANCE EVALUATION SYSTEMS: (Cont'd)

74. Does the nature of your present job interfere with important religious activities or cultural activities of your racial or ethnic group?

1 Yes	2 No

75. If "Yes" above :

Please describe those activities and how your job affects your participation in them.

____

____

____

____

76. All things equal, if you wanted to leave your position with this company, how difficult would it be to get a comparable position somewhere else with the same income and fringe benefits? Would it be extremely difficult, very difficult, somewhat difficult, or not at all difficult?

1 Extremely Difficult	4 Not at all Difficult
2 Very Difficult	5 Don't Know
3 Somewhat Difficult	

ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS:

77. In the company where you work, how many employees are there altogether? Include only plant/branch/office where respondent works in cases of large corporations.

# of Employees ______	99 Don't Know

If Respondent is "Visible Minority" : ASK Q.78-82.

78. Approximately how many employees are there where you work of the same racial or ethnic background as yourself?

# of Employees ______	99 Don't Know

79. Are there any other managers where you work of the same racial or ethnic background who are at your level in the company?

1 Yes	2 No
	3 Don't Know

80. If "Yes" above :

Approximately how many managers?

# of Managers ______	99 Don't Know

81. Are there any managers where you work of the same racial or ethnic background who are at a higher level in the Company?

1 Yes	2 No
	3 Don't Know

82. If "Yes" above :

Approximately how many managers?

# of Managers ______	99 Don't Know

THE WORK EXPERIENCE OF RECENT M.B.A. GRADUATES

Respondent Number : ________

(For office use only)

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT:

83. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements?

(For this question, "Minority" refers to all persons who are not white or anglo-saxon. Place check mark under appropriate column in chart below. SA: Strongly Agree, AG: Agree, DA: Disagree, SD: Strongly Disagree)

	SA	AG	DA	SD
(a) Realistically, success in one's job depends more on family contacts and connections than on anything an individual can do for himself.				
(b) In a company, the person who really gets ahead is the one who spends a lot of time making friends with the boss, even if his work is not the best				
(c) Members of a minority group are likely to be discriminated against if they speak with an accent than if they do not				
(d) Members of a minority group are more likely to encounter discrimination if they keep their customs				
(e) Many minority managers come from different cultural backgrounds that are not conducive to their success in the corporation				
(f) Minority managers are excluded from informal work networks by Anglo-Saxons				
(g) Minority managers are often excluded from social activities that are beneficial to advancement in corporations				
(h) Many minority managers have a harder time finding someone who is particularly interested in their careers				
(i) Minority managers are penalized more for their mistakes than are Whites				
(j) Many minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs				
(k) Most minority managers must be better performers than White Anglo-Saxons to get ahead				
(l) Most minority managers do not have the same power as do Whites in similar positions				
(m) A lack of qualified minorities for managerial positions exists				
(n) Minorities are penalized more for their mistakes than Whites are				
(o) Whites bypass minority managers and go to their superiors because they feel uncomfortable dealing with minorities				

84. Is discrimination against visible minorities as far as jobs, pay, or other working conditions are concerned a problem in Toronto (or elsewhere as applicable)?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Don't Know

85. Do you feel that discrimination against visible minorities is increasing, decreasing or staying the same?

1 Increasing
2 Decreasing
3 Staying the Same
4 Don't Know

86. If "No" to Question 84, SKIP TO Q.90

How certain are you that there is discrimination? Are you positive, very certain, fairly certain, or not at all certain?

1 Positive
2 Very Certain
3 Fairly Certain
4 Not at all Certain
5 Don't Know

Respondent Number : _______

(For office use only)

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT: (Cont'd)

87. Is your view based on personal experience or what you have been told by other people, or what you have read in the press, or what you have heard on radio or seen on television, or a combination of the above?

Source of Knowledge	Yes	No
Personal Experience		
Told by Others		
Press Reports		
Radio & Television		

88. If "Yes" to "Personal Experience" :

Will you please give me details of the personal experience of discrimination in employment.

89. If "Yes" to "Personal Experience" :

Have you used any of the actions listed below in dealing with incidents of discrimination?

	Yes	No
(a) Complain directly to the boss or personnel manager		
(b) Say nothing but work harder than others so as to impress the boss		
(c) Get together with co-workers and complain to the boss		
(d) Deal with the situation by contacting a friend in the company		
(e) Take the case to a professional association or employee association if there is one in the company		
(f) Take the case to a community agency like the Ontario or Canadian Human Rights Commission whose purpose is to handle cases of discrimination		

90. If "Yes" to "Personal Experience" :

Have you taken any other action or used any other method for dealing with incidents of discrimination?

1 Yes

2 No

91. If "Yes" above :

What method or action :

Respondent Number : ________

(For office use only)

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT: (Cont'd)

92. Have you even been refused membership in a professional organization?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Not Applicable - never applied for membership

93. If "Yes" above :

Why were you refused membership?

____
____
____
____

If Respondent is""Visible Minority" ASK Q. 94 - 95

Others SKIP to Q.96

94. On the basis of your own experiences in Canada, to what extent do you feel that discrimination against your own ethnic or racial group exists here?

1 None at all
2 Very little
3 Some
4 A great deal
5 Uncertain

95. As a resident of Toronto (or other relevant locale) do you feel that you have ever been denied opportunities for promotion to higher positions because of your ethnic, cultural or racial background? If "Yes", could you give me details as to why you feel this way?

____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

96. Would you like to see Job Affirmative Action Programmes in Canada similar to those existing in the United States?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Insufficient knowledge of A.A.P.

Respondent Number : _______

(For office use only)

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT: (Cont'd)

97. Suppose a member of an ethnic group is having trouble securing a good job in a company after labour market entry because he is discriminated against. How much do you think the following actions he could take would help to change the situation? Would each action help very much, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

(Place a check mark under appropriate column in the chart below. VM: Very Much, SW: Somewhat, LT: A Little, or NA: Not at all)

	VM	SW	LT	NA	
(a) Complain directly to the boss or personnel manager					______
(b) Say nothing but work harder than others so as to impress the boss					______
(c) Get together with co-workers and complain to the boss					______
(d) Deal with the situation by contacting a friend in the company					______
(e) Take the case to a professional association or employee association if there is one in the company					______
(f) Take the case to a community agency like the Ontario or Canadian Human Rights Commission whose purpose is to handle such cases of discrimination					______

98. INTERVIEWER NOTE:

Does the Respondent have any kind of non-English accent? If so, how much of an accent does he or she have? ______

1 No Identifiable Accent
2 Slight Accent
3 Definite Accent
4 Heavy accent - Respondent is difficult to understand at times

We're trying to contact a number of people who graduated from the M.B.A. programme at your university about the same time as you did. Do you maintain contact with friends in your graduating class? If "Yes", ASK FOR NAMES AND PHONE NUMBERS.

Thank the Respondent for his/her time and consideration.